A STUDY OF THE PERUṄKATAI

an authentic version of
the story of udayana

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Dr. R. VIJAYALAKSHMY

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the story of Udayana

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Foreword

'A study of the Perunkatai, an authentic version of the story of Udayana' by Dr. Vijayalakshmy is a product of her research in this Institute. This book is on comparative study.

Comparative study of literature on the basis of the unity of theme in various languages is very essential to know the cultural identity reflected in those works. Here the author has attempted to trace out the story of Udayana in an authentic way from Perunkatai. The story aspect is compared with the various versions in different Indian languages like Paisaci, Sanskrit and Prakrit. The author deals the subject in the following headings i. e, the Perunkatai, the Brhatkatha and related works; the position of the Perunkatai in Tamil literature; the contribution of the Perunkatai to the reconstruction of the Udayana legends, and its significance for Indian literature; a comparative study of the Naravana kantam of the Perunkatai and the other versions of the Brhatkatha; an analysis of the story of Udayanan in the Perunkatai from the historical and geographical points of view and the Mythological, Cosmological, Metaphysical, Ethical, Theological and Ritualistic ideas of Jainism as reflected in the Perunkatai. Her strenuous efforts to compare the content of Perunkatai with other versions in different Indian languages are seen in each heading and every page of this work. The author's multi-lingual approach to this study kindled the spirit of multi-dimentional approach for the study of literature. I congratulate the author for her hard work and proper methodology of research. My best wishes for the author.

Madras
24—4—81

S. V. Subramanian

Abbreviations used

Bk.	—	Bṛhatkathā
Bkm.	—	Bṛhatkathāmañjarī
Bkss.	—	Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha
Kss.	—	Kathāsaritsāgara
Pk.	—	Peruṅkatai
Uc.	—	Uditodayacaritam
Ucc.	—	Utayaṇaṉcarittiraccurukkam
Ukk.	—	Utayaṇakumārakāviyam
Vh.	—	Vasudevahiṇḍi

Introduction

'No Single Literature stands complete'
— Henry Gifford, 'Comparative Literature'

Behind every literature there stands an ampler tradition of different cultures. This is very true of Indian literature which shared and enjoyed the influence of diverse cultures which thus contributed to the nation's literary wealth. In the relatively long period ranging from the 3rd century A. D. to the 12th century A. D., most Indian literatures experienced the impact of Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. Today this tradition has become weakened to a great extent by various other sociological and historical forces. But a reader who wants to do justice to the comprehension of a literature of the past should travel back without any prejudice or preconceived ideas and with an open mind to absorb the actual facts. This is possible only when one acquaints oneself with the various traditions, sociological, historical and religious factors and other such phenomena which are involved in the creation of such literary works.

The contributions of Jaina authors to Indian literature in general and to Tamil literature in particular are immense in their proportion and profound in their impact. Jainism, which, at one time, enveloped the entire sub-continent, acted as one of the unifying threads in the colourful web of our cultural heritage.

It was during my study of the Cīvakacintāmaṇi at the Oxford University that I became aware of the strong Jaina influence on Tamil literature. My perception of this fact was deepened by my subsequent research studies. A close look at the story of Jīvaka (Jīvandhara) and his numerous 'marriages' soon led me on to the thematic resemblance between the story of Jīvaka and the Bṛhatkathā. The Bṛhatkathā, whose original text is now lost, exists only in the form of various versions. Its story contains two main streams, viz. the story of Udayana and the exploits of

his son, Naravāhanadatta. I was thus impelled towards a study of the Peruṅkatai which deals with the story of Udayana and is therefore known also as the Utayaṇaṉ Katai.

The mention made by Vaiyapuripillai in his work 'Kāviya kālam' of a work called Vasudevahiṇḍi in connection with the Peruṅkatai made me curious to know the contents and nature of this work as well. My correspondences in this connection with the late Prof. L. Alsdorf of the University of Hamburg west Germany gave me a somewhat clear picture of the connection between the Peruṅkatai, the Vasudevahiṇḍi and the other versions of the Bṛhatkathā. Prof. Alsdorf was glad to hear about my interest in the studof the Peruṅkatai and was willing to help me with the study of the Vasudevahiṇḍi which is in Prākrit. The award of an Alexandervon - Humboldt fellowship provided me an opportunity to work with Prof. Alsdorf in the University of Hamburg. It was my good fortune that I could work with him and benefit from his profound insights into the Bṛhatkathā problem.

The Peruṅkatai is a treasure house of information which cannot be obtained from any other known version of the Udayana story. From the maturity of its narrative style, its diction and its reflection of a society at a comparatively refined level one can see that the Caṅkam literature and the works of Iḷaṅko and Cīttalaiccāttaṉār, viz. the Cilappatikāram and the Maṇimēkalai had paved the way for its composition.

The present work is a comparative analysis of the Peruṅkatai with the other versions of the Bṛhatkathā. This analysis has led up to the somewhat surprising conclusion that, as far as the Udayana legends are concerned, the Peruṅkatai is the most exhaustive and authentic version of the original work that we have at present. It has also enabled me to clear up a few matters of textual interpretation of the Peruṅkatai, and to draw attention to some historical and geographical details connected with the narrative.

As mentioned earlier, as in the case of many other outstanding works in Tamil literature, the author of the Peruṅkatai

ppears to have belonged to the Jaina religion. The only difference between him and many other Jaina authors is that, in his work we find no rude interruptions of the narrative for the sake of religious propaganda and no obscure passages having only a religious significance. Yet, the predominantly Jaina character of the work arises from the central fact that the main theme of the work is about the Vidyādharas and the conquest of the Vidyādhara empire by Naravāhanadatta, the son of Udayana. The concepts regarding the Vidyādharas as semi-divine beings who have acquired mastery over several 'arts' and about the law of Karma which preordains events such as the birth of an emperor the Vidyādharas-constitute the very core of Jaina mythology and cosmography. It is this feature of the story, above all else, which determines the Jaina character of the Peruṅkatai.

I owe a debt of gratitude to many for helping me in different ways to bring out this work. In particular I wish to recall my association with the late Prof. L. Alsdorf who introduced me to Prakrit and Pali and helped me to read the text of the Vasudevahiṇḍi. I am deeply indebted for his suggestions, corrections and invaluable remarks on my first draft of the earlier portions of this work. I am also thankful to the academic and library staff of the Seminar fur Kultur and Geschichte Indiens of the University of Hamburg for the assistance rendered to me during my stay there. Above all, I should thank the Alexander-von Humboldt Stiftung for having financed my stay and travel in West Germany and for having made my academic and and personal life pleasant during my stay in that country. I also thank Prof. K. Bruhn and Prof. C. Tripathi of the Seminar fur Indische Philoiogie at the Freie Universitat at West Berlin.

I owe much to Prof. S. V. Subramanian, Director of the International Institute of Tamil Studies, Madras, for enabling me to finish this work during the last sixteeen months by providing me all the necessary facilities at this Institute. My special thanks are due to the staff of the Adayar Research Library and the U. V. Saminatha Iyer Library for their painstaking and patient help.

I thank Mr. C. Saravanakumar and the staff of Gomathi Accakam, Madras, for the neat execution of the job of printing this book in a short period.

Finally, I am greatly indebted to my husband, other members of my family and friends without whose understanding and support it would have been virtually impossible to bring the present work to a successful conclusion.

It is hoped that this book will be of some value to those interested in the evolution of Indian narrative literature and in the interaction among different cultures of India.

In spite of my efforts, typographical errors and errors in the diacretical marks may be found in some places. I have tried to incorporate these in the correction list at the end. I would be thankful if suggestions for improvement or corrections, if any, are brought to my attention by the readers.

Madras,
23rd April. 1981

R. Vijayalakshmy

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CHAPTER 1

The Peruṅkatai, the Bṛhatkathā and related works.

The *Peruṅkatai* (Pk.), which deals with the story of king Utayaṇaṉ (Udayana) and his son Naravāṇatattaṉ (Naravāhanadatta) is a celebrated Tamil work belonging to the middle Tamil period. We find numerous references to and quotations from it which occur in later commentaries and literary works. Prominent among them is the commentary to the *Cilappatikaram* by Aṭiyārkkunallār[1] which refers to this work as *Utayaṇaṉ Katai*'[2] (the story of Udayana), '*Peruṅkatai*' [3] (the great story), or simply as '*Katai*' [4] (the story). It is also referred to as '*Koṅkuvēḷ Makkatai*'[5] which means the 'great story written by the chieftain of the Koṅku country'. The

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1. Aṭiyārkkunallār, *Commentary to Cilappatikāram*, edited by U. V. Saminatha Iyer, 8th edition, Madras, 1968).

2. Ibid. pp. 6, 8. We do not know how Utayanaṉ became Utayaṇaṉ here. In the original manuscript of the Pk. and in the Sanskrit books it remains as Udayana (Tamil Utayanaṉ) U. V. Saminatha Iyer also found only Utayanaṉ in the manuscript which he changed later into Utayaṇaṉ. Peruṅkatai ed. Saminatha Iyer. 4th ed. (Madras. 1968) p. xliii. We retain Utayaṇaṉ throughout this study.

3. *Ibid.* 1 : 8 : 23-6 p. 23

4. *Ibid.* 1 : 5 : 1-6 p. 152

5. Saminatha Tecikar, *Ilakkaṇakkottuppayiram*, Cūttiram 7, see. U. V. Saminatha Iyer. Introduction to the Pk. 4th edition, (Madras, 1968) p xxxv

See also *Commentary to Yapparuṅkalam*.

ed. by : M. V. Venugopalapillai, Government Oriental Manuscript Library (Madras, 1960) Cūttiram. 52, 53

frequency[6] ;and manner of these allusions leave no doubt that this work occupied a high position in Tamil literature.

The text of the Pk.

Until 1924, however, the text of the Pk. existed only in manuscript form. Even then the attention of scholars was directed to the importance of this work, especially as a version of the celebrated *Bṛhatkatha* (Bk.), by Krishnaswamy Aiyangar[7]. In 1924, Saminatha Iyer brought out the first edition of the Pk[8]. on the basis of two palm leaf manuscripts which he had secured from the manuscript collection of Nellaiappapillai of Tirunelvely and Tirupparkatanatha Kavirayar respectively[9]. Between the two the first one started with the eighty first leaf and ended with the three hundred and ninteenth leaf of which only one side had been written on[10]. The text was also damaged by insect bites and had been shuffled up. The second manuscript contained gaps in the text corresponding to the damaged portions of the first manuscript, thus revealing that it was a copy of the first manuscript[11]. Some damaged portions of the first manuscript could be found written properly in the second[12] indicating that the copy had been made at a time when the original manuscript was in a slightly better condition. In spite of the extensive search made by U. V. Saminatha Iyer no other manuscripts could be found and no further attempt in this direction has been made so far after him.

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6. Aṭiyārkkunallār, *op.cit* 1 : 4 : 27–34, 1 : 4 : 72–76, 1 : 5 : 1–6, 1 : 9 : 1–4, 2 : 5 : 212.
7. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar. S. *Bṛhatkatha* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, (Great Britain. 1906), p. 689. ff
8. Koṅkuvēḷ, *Peruṅkatai*, ed. U. V. Saminatha Iyer, 1st edition, (Madras, 1924).
9. Koṅkuvēḷ, *Peruṅkatai* ed. U. V. Saminatha Iyer, 4th edition, (Madras, 1968) p. xxv ff
10. *Ibid.* P. xxxvi
11. *Ibid.* P. xxxvii
12. *Ibid.* p. xxxvii

In editing the text Saminatha Iyer had adopted the following procedure.[13] There were places in the text where the following groups of letters were indistinguishable because of the illegiblity of the manuscript.

க, ச, த,	(ka, ca, ta)
ப, ம, ய, ழ	(pa, ma, ya, ḻa)
வ, ல,	(va, la)
ள, ன	(ḷa, ṉa)

The correct forms of these letters had been guessed by him,[14] (a) from the context (b) from the requirements of assonance and alliteration and (c) from the quotations found in other texts. Even after doing this he concluded that there might still be places where discontinuities in the lines, phrases and words occur. Some passages at the end of the text could have been wrongly juxtaposed, because the page numbers in the original manuscript had either become illegible or had been damaged.[15] The number of lines missing in some places could not be ascertained. The numbering of the lines found in the present editions of the text has been made by Saminatha Iyer. More recently based on the same text, P. V. Somasundaranar has published another edition with some explanatory notes[16].

Unfortunately, the whole text of the Pk. is not available to us now. The available portions of the text are divided into five kāṇṭams (cantos) and each kāṇṭam is further sub divided into kātais. The following table shows the portions which are available and those which are lost.

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13. *Ibid.* p. xlii.
14. *Ibid.* p. xlii. ff
15. *Ibid.* p. xlii - xliii
16. *Peruṅkatai.* edited by P. V. Somasundaranar, published by Saiva Siddhanta works publishing Society, 1st edition (Madras. 1962)

Portions available		*Portions lost*
Uñcaikkāṇṭam......	kātai 32 - 58	The first 31 kātais and the beginning of kātai 32.
Ilāvāṇakāṇṭam......	kātai 1 - 20	Nil
Makatakāṇṭam......	kātai 1 – middle of kātāi 10 - middle of kātai 12 - 16 middle of kātai 17-27	The whole of kātai 11. The beginning of kātai 12 and kātai 17 and the latter parts of kātais 10 and 16.
Vattavakāṇṭam ...	kātai 1 - 17	Nil
Naravāṇakāṇṭam...	kātai 1 – middle of kātai. 9	The latter part of kātai .9 and the rest of the kāṇṭam.

The Author

About the author of the Pk. it has been presumed that he was a chieftain in the Koṅku country on the basis of the name Koṅkuvēḷ, which is found only in other texts [17] and not in the text of the Pk. The Koṅku country corresponds to the modern Coimbatore, North Tiruchy, South Salem, and North Mathurai districts[18]. The actual name of the author has not been mentioned anywhere. That he was a Jain is obvious from the work itself[19]. All the other information that has been given by others is based on the following verse from a work called *Koṅkumaṇṭalacatakam*[20].

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17. *Peruṅkatai*. ed. Saminatha Iyer. op. cit. p. xxxv.
18. Ramachandran Cettiyar, *Koṅkuvēḷir*, Sornammal Endowment Lectures, (Annamalai University, 1967) p.90
19. See Chapter. VI
20. Kārmēkakkaviñar, *Koṅkumaṇṭalacatakam* vv. 99 Peruṅkatai, ed. Saminatha Iyer. op. cit. p. xlvii

nitap pukaḻ utayēntiraṉ katai nikaḻttutaṟkkuk
Kōtaṟṟa maṅkaiyiṉ mūṉṟu piṟapp uṟṟa koḷkaiyaṉṟi
mētakkaṇ coṟ caṅkattar veḷkavē koṅku vēḷ aṭimai
mātai koṭ uttaraṅ coṉṉatuvuṅ koṅku maṇṭalamē.

It is in Koṅkumaṇṭalam that, koṅkuvēḷ made his slave maid answer the scholars of the Caṅkam, and thus put them to shame. It was also here that he took three births in Maṅkai (Vicayamaṅkalam) in order to compose the famous story of Utayēntiraṉ (Utayaṇaṉ).

It has not been possible to interpret this verse satisfactorily so far and it has been the subject of much speculation. The reliablity of the testimony of the *Koṅkumaṇṭalacatakam* itself is questionable. This is clearly illustrated by the case of Pavaṇanti, the autor of *Naṉṉūl*. While the *Koṅkumaṇṭalacatakam* claims that he belonged to the Koṅku country, another work called the Toṇṭaimaṇṭalacatakam states that he lived in the Toṇṭai country[21].

In his introduction to the Pk. Saminatha Iyer[22] has made some remarks about when the Pk. might have been written. From the fact that Aṭiyārkkunallār, the commentator to the *Cilappatikāram*, mentions the Pk. before the *(Cīvaka-) cintāmaṇi*, he infers that the Pk. was composed before the *Cintāmaṇi*. But in the same passage[23] the Maṇimēkalai which is definitely earlier than the *Cintāmaṇi* is mentioned by Aṭiyārkkunallār after *Cintāmaṇi*. The above inference is therefore not justified. Vaiyapurippillai has also discussed the date of the Pk[24]. His contention is that the Pk. must have been written after the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and *Nālaṭiyār* from which the

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21. Ramachandran Cettiyar *op.cit.* p. 112.
22. Saminatha Iyer. *op.cit.* p. xlix
23. Aṭiyārkkunallār, *op.cit.* p. 8.
24. Vaiyapuripillai. S. *Kāviyakālam*, 1st ed. (Madras, 1957) pp. 89–91

author of the Pk. appears to have borrowed some passages. While there is no unanimity among scholars about the date of the *kuṟaḷ*, fortunately the *Nalaṭiyar* has been dated, on the basis of the references to one Perumuttaraiyar in it, and also with other evidences at about 7th century A. D.[25]. This furnishes an upper limit for the date of the Pk. as circa 600 A. D.

The lower limit can be fixed with the help of the numerous references to and quotations from the Pk. which occur in later commentaries. The Commentary to the *Naṉṉūl* by Mayilainātha (13th century A. D)[26] is one of them[27] We have already seen that Atiyārkkunallār (12th century A.D)[28] frequently mentions and cites from the Pk.[29] Perāciriyar (12th century A. D)[30] refers to the work of Koṅkuvēlir in his commentary to the *Tolkāppiyam*.[31] The commentary to the *Takkayākapparaṇi* (later than 12th century A. D)[32] also quotes examples from the Pk.[33] In a discussion about metres, Peruntēvaṉār the

25. Ibid, p. 207
    See also Vaiyāpuripillai. S. *History of Tamil Language and Literature*. (Madras, 1956), p. 128
26. *Naṉṉūl*, ed. by. U. V. Saminatha Iyer. (Madras, 1918) Introduction p. xvii ff
27. *Ibid*. Mayilaināthar commentary to cūttiram 366
28. Aravamuthan T. G., *The oldest account of the Tamil Academies*, Journal of the Madras Oriental Research Institute. (1930), p. 299
29. Aṭiyārkkunallār, *op. cit*, pp. 7, 8, also, 1 :4:27-34, 1:5:1-6, 1:8:24-6
30. Aravamuthan, *op. cit*. p. 299
31. Perāciriyar, *Commentary to the Tolkāppiyam*. Published by Saiva Siddhanta works publishing society, (Madras, 1966), cūttiram. 522.
32. Jagannathan K. V. *Tamiḻkkāppiyaṅkaḷ*, (Madras, 1955) p. 50
33. Oṭṭakkūttar, *Takkayākapparaṇi*, ed. U. V. Saminatha Iyer 3rd edition (Madras, 1960) vv 2, 28, 33, 54, 55, 137, 167, 179, 258, 263, 371, 395, 537, 630, 688.

commentator to the *Viracōḻiyam* (12th century A. D)[34] states that the Utayaṇaṉ Katai is a work written in the Nilaimaṇ ila Āciriyappā. He further justifies the employment of obscure words and ideas in works like the *Kuṇṭalakēci* and the *Utayaṇaṉkatai* by pointing out that for authors of such extensive works (Akalakkavi) it is impossible to avoid such usages. He also says that in the period in which they were written, their meanings were perhaps clearer.[35] From this passage we are led to think that the Pk. was written much earlier than the time when Peruntēvaṉār lived. This inference is corroborated by the reference made by Amitacākaraṉār who lived in the time of the Chola king Rājarāja I (985 -1013 A. D).[36] In his commentary to the *Yapparuṅkalam* he gives the *Utayaṇaṉkatai* as an example for Antāti. We therefore conclude that the Pk. was composed before 1000 A. D.

The literary references do not enable us to determine precisely when in the period from 600 A.D - 1000 A.D, the author of the Pk. lived. But there is an interesting epigraphical record which is worth noting in this connection[37]. This is a brief inscription in Tamil characters of about the 10th century A.D. which records the erection of a Tēvāram i.e. devagrha, by a person called Vēḷi Koṅgaraiyar Puttaḍigaḷ i.e. the Buddhist (or Jaina) monk called (Vēḷi) Koṅgaraiyar. This inscription was found near a figure of Gommaṭa on a hillock called Āṇḍimalai in the village Cōḻavāṇḍīpuram in the Tirukkōvalūr Taluk of the South Arcot district. The names Koṅkūvēḷ and Vēḷi Koṅkaraiyar are more or less synonymous. From the description of this person as a Jaina monk in this inscription we may surmise whether he is identical with the author of the Pk. If this is so,

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34. Venkopa Rao, *Tamiḻ Nūlkaḷum Nūlāciriyarkaḷum.* 'Tamiḻakam, (1906) Vol. No:7, p. 174
35. Peruntēvaṉār, *Commentary to Viracoḻiyam.* Yāppu, 9 Alaṅkāram. 4.
36. Aravamuthan, *op. cit.* p. 296 *Yapparuṅkalavirutti*, ed. Venugopalapillai, Cūttirams, 50 - 3
37. Annual report on South Indian epigraphy, 1936-7, pp. 60-1.

we may say that the Pk. was written in about the 10th century A. D. This point however needs further research and should not be considered as conclusive in the present state of our knowledge about this.

Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya :

Among the names *Peruṅkatai*, *Makkatai*, *Katai* and *Utayaṉaṉ Katai*, *Utayaṉaṉ Katai* refers to its subject matter and the other terms refer to the class of literature to which it belongs. *Peruṅkatai* and *Makkatai* being the translated forms of the term *Bṛhatkatha* in Sanskrit, point to its close connection with the celebrated Bṛhatkathā (Bk). The term *'Bṛhatkatha'* is understood, in Indian literary history, to refer only to the work bearing that name which was supposed to have been written by Guṇāḍhya in the Paiśāci language. However, when we examine the references to the *Bṛhatkatha* which occur in the works of other authors, a doubt arises whether *Bṛhatkatha* was the name given to a certain class of literature as a whole rather than to a particular work in a manner similar to the class of works called 'Mahākāvyas'. This point has already been discussed by Raghavan[38] in his study of the *Sṛṅgara Prakaśa* of Bhōja. We thus notice the following statement by Bhoja in this work.[39]

> *"lambhaṅkita adbhutartha piśacabhaṣamayi mahaviṣaya |*
> *naravahanadattadeḥ caritamiva bṛhatkatha bhavati ||*

Here the term *Bṛhatkatha* is said to apply to all works which are divided into lambhas, deal with fantastic themes, written in Paiśācī language, and are extensive in scope. As an example the the story of Naravāhanadatta i. e. the work of Guṇāḍhya, is cited.

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38. Raghavan. A, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgaraprakaśa* (Madras, 1978), p. 826 ff
39. *Ibid.* p.829

Daṇḍin, in his Kāvyādarśa, dismisses the distinction based on the division into lambhas as being of no consquence[40] by saying

'bhedaśca dṛṣṭo lambhadirucchvaso vastu kim tatah'

(It does not matter much if a poet uses the name lambha to substitute ucchvāsa).

He goes on to state that the *Bṛhatkatha* is said to be a type of prose work written in the language of the goblins (Bhūtabhāṣā ie. Paiśācī) and dealing with marvellous stories.

"bhūtabhaṣāmayim prahuradbhutartham bṛhatkatham'[41]

We also find Jinasena, the author of *Ādipurāṇa*, claiming that his work dealing with the biographies of the sixty three great men of the Jaina religion, is the real *Bṛhatkatha*[42].

....................Katham dharmanubandhinim |
Prastuve..||
satam samvegajananim nirvedarasabṛmhaṇim |
adbhutarthamimam divyam paramarthabṛhatkatham||
lambhairanekaiḥ sandṛbdham guṇaḍhyaih pūrva sūribhiḥ |

From the mention here of 'predecessors like Guṇāḍhya' one may infer that there had lived other authors like Guṇāḍhya who had composed similar works, all of which were called *Bṛhatkathas*.

The Place of the Bṛhatkathā in Sanskrit literature :

However, since no other work of this kind by any author other than Guṇāḍhya has come to light so far, the work called *Bṛhatkatha* is now taken to refer only to the work of Guṇāḍhya which was written in the Paiśācī language. This is attested by

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40. Dandin, *Kavyadarśa*, (Bibilotheca Indica. Fasciculus v, (Calcutta, 1863) 1:27
41. *Ibid.* 1:38
42. Raghavan, *Śṛṅgaraprakaśa*, *op.cit.* p. 831.

all the references to Guṇāḍhya and the *Bṛhatkatha* found in all later Sanskrit and Prākrit works. We collect together here all these references so as to facilitate further discussions.

1. Udyotanasūri in his Kuvalayamāla (779 A. D.)[43] refers to Pādaliṭṭa, Hāla and Chappannaya, and mentions the *Baḍḍakahā* (Bṛhatkathā) as an abode of all the arts and knowledge, a veritable mirror for poets, likened to the goddess of learning, and composed by Guṇāḍhya, whom he hails as "*Kamalāsana*" ie. (Brahma)

> "*Sayala-kalāgama-nilayā sikkhāviya-kaiyaṇassa muhayandā* |
> *Kamalāsaṇo guṇaḍḍho sarassī jassa vaḍdakahā*||"

2. Dhanapāla[44] in his *Tilakamañjari* in the following lines mentions *Bṛhatkatha.*

> "*Sathyam bṛhatkathāmbodherbindum ādāya samskṛtāḥ* |
> *tenetarakathāh kanthāh pratibhānti tadagratah* ||

Here he speaks contemptuosly of the authors who took their subject matter from the great work, *Bṛhatkatha* and built up their reputations. Further he also says that the Sanskrit stories borrowed in little drops from the ocean of the *Bṛhatkatha* simply look like patched-up garments.

3. Hāla[45] in his Saptaśat salutes the author of the *Bṛhatkatha*, classifying it with the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. He compares their eloquence with a river having three branches.

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43. Udyotanasuri, *Kuvalayamālā*, ed. A. N. Upadhye, (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1959) First edition, vol. I. p. 3 line. 23.
44. Dhanapāla, *Tilakamañjari*, Kāvyamāla series. 85 edited by Pandit Bhavadatta Sastri and Kasinath Pandurang Parab. (Bombay. 1903), Introduction śloka. 21.
45. Hāla, *Gathāsaptaśati*, Kāvyamāla series No. 21, (1889) p. 696

4. In the following lines of *Kadambari*, Bāṇa (last quarter of the 7th century A. D)[46] mentions the *Bṛhatkatha*.

> "............*Mahabharatapuraṇaramayaṇanu-*
> *ragiṇabṛhatkathakuśalena*...........
> *vijitamaralokadyutiravantiṣujjayini nama nagari* ||

In the above lines Bāṇa praises the inhabitants of the city of Ujjayini and says that they were passionately fond of the *Mahabharata*, the *puraṇas* and the *Ramayaṇa*, and he calls them at the same time intelligent lovers of the *Bṛhatkatha*".

5. Subandhu[47] (earlier than Bāṇa) in his *Vasavadatta* mentions the *Bṛhatkatha* in the following lines.

> "*asti sudhadhavalairbṛhatkatha lambhairiva*
> *salabhañjikopetavṛttairiva, samaṇavaka -*
> *kṛiḍitaiḥ kariyūthairiva*......"

(There is a city named Kusumapura, adorned with whitewashed houses that have (statues) as the lambhas of the Bṛhatkathā have heroines.[48])

6. In the following lines of *Nalacampū*[49] Guṇāḍhya, the author of the *Bṛhatkatha*, is mentioned by its author Trivikramabhaṭṭa.

> *śaśvadbaṇadvitiyena namadakaradhariṇa* |
> *dhanuṣeva guṇaḍhyena nihśeṣo rañjita janaḥ*||

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46. Bāṇa, *Kadambari*, edited by Peter Peterson, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. XXIV, (Bombay. 1900) Part I, p. 51-2
47. Subandhu, *Vasavadatta*. edited by Fitzedward Hall, Bibiliotheca Indica, (Calcutta, 1859), p.110
48. *Vasavadatta*, Translated by Louis H. Gray. Indo Iranian series. Vol. 8. Columbia University, (New york, 1913), p. 75. para.110
49. Trivikramabhaṭṭa, *Nalacampū*, Kashi sanskrit series No.98 (Banares, 1932), 1 : 14.

7. Dhanamjaya[50] in his Daśarūpa refers to the Bṛhatkathā as a work on a par with the Rāmāyaṇa.

"ityadyaśeṣamiha vāstavibhedajātam
rāmāyaṇādi ca vibhāvya bṛhatkathāmca |
āsūtrayet tadanu netṛrasānuguṇyāc
citrām kathāmucitacāruvacaḥ prapañcaiaḥ ||

(After examining the entire body of divisions of the subject-matter here (presented) in these and the following (sections) as well as the Rāmāyaṇa and the like, and the *Bṛhatkatha*, one should thereupon compose a story diversified with the appropriate selection of hero and sentiments, together with amplifications of appropriate and pleasing words).

8. The existence of Guṇāḍhya is proved by a śloka in a Cambodian inscription[52]. which belongs to the ninth century A.D. In this, there is an unmistakable reference to Guṇāḍhya ; and to his work. This particular inscription is one of the five steles of the Thnal Baray consecrated to the eulogy of king Yaśovarman (Bergaigne Insc. sanscrites de campā et du cambodge, 2e fasc. Nos. LVI - LX). In the following verse Guṇāḍhya is referred to as a person who hates Prakrit.

"Pāradaḥ sthirakalyāṇo guṇāḍhyaḥ prākṛtāpriyaḥ
anitir yyo vicālakṣac cūro nyakkṛtabhimakaḥ"

(A Pāradaḥ but of which the kalyāṇa subsists (willing to help but always happy) Guṇāḍhya who did not like the Prākrti

50. Dhanamjaya, *Daśarūpa*, ed. by. George. C. O. Haas, (Columbia University Press, New york, 1912) 1:129.

51. Ibid, translated by. George. C. O. Haas, (Delhi, 1962) pp. 38, 39

52. Lacote. F. *Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛhatkatha*, Translation of the French "Essay sur Guṇāḍhya et lā Bṛhatkathā" by A. M. Tabard. (Bangalore 1927). p.15

(rich in virtue but not loving harshness), Viśālākṣa, a stranger to the nīti (with big eyes without the torments of exile) He was sūra having humbled Bhīmaka ")[53]

Lacote[54] in his work, [mentions another allusion which had been already pointed out by Barth.

guṇāṇnvitas tiṣṭhatu dūṣito pi
sthanarppito yena punar guṇāḍhyaḥ
gado py alaṅ cāruvibhūṣaṇāya
haraprayuktaḥ kim utāmṛtāñcuḥ

(It matters not of a virtuous man is even vilified; because he was really a virtuous man, Guṇāḍhya was reinstated in his place; even the poison that is closely united with Śiva serves sufficiently as a graceful as a graceful ornament; what to say of the moon)[55]

9. Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgaraprakaśa*[56] gives various kinds of subjects for poems and dramas. He says that themes can be borrowed from Itihāsas and kathās. While explaining the themes borrowed from Kathās he mentions about a kāvya called *Udayanodaya* (story of Vatsaraja) whose source was the Kathāmukhalambha of the *Bṛhatkatha*.

kathaśrayamityanena Bṛhatkathadipratipannaprakhya—todattanayakacaritaviṣayatamapi mahakavyadeḥ prabandhasya abhidhatte |

yatha bṛhatkathayaḥ kathamukhacandra (lamba) pratipanne (nna) Vatseśvaracaritam udayanodaye ||

10. In a commentary to Hemacandra's[57] *Kavyanuśasana* the author says that the *Bṛhatkatha* which deals with the story of Naravāhanadatta is divided into lambhas.

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53. *Ibid.* p.15
54. *Ibid.* p.15
55. *Ibid.* p.15
56. Raghavan V., *op. cit* p. 824 ff.
57. Hemacandra, *Kavyanuśasana*, ed. by Rasiklal c. Parikh, Sri. Mahavira Jaina Vidyalay, (Bombay 1938) Vol. II p.463. 8:8

"lambhangitadbhutartha naravahanadattadi-caritavad bṛhatkatha"

From all the above references we understand that there existed a celebrated work called *Bṛhatkatha* written by Guṇāḍhya in Paiśācī language which though not available now served as a source for later Kāvyās and narrative works. We also come to know that it was divided into lambas. Apart from the testimony from later authors that the Bk. of Gunāḍhya was written in Paiśācī, we also find some passages in Paiśācī, cited as examples by Hemacandra and by Bhoja in his *Śṛṅgāraprakaśa*. The latter has been dealt with by Raghavan who concludes that the passage in question is from the Viṣamaśīla lambha. We shall discuss the queśtion of the identification of the former passage in chapter three and show that there are reasonable grounds to think that this passage is from the Viricikai episode which is described in detail in the *Pk*.

The legend of Gunāḍhya :

Whatever information we get now about the *Bk*. and its author is only through the versions of the *Bk*. The most well known among them are the *Kathasaritsagara* (Kss.) of Somadeva, and the *Bṛhatkathamañjari* (Bkm) of Kṣemendra. From these works we come to know the following accounts regarding how Guṇāḍhya came to compose the *Bk*.

Once, when Śiva was alone with Pārvatī in Kailāsa she asked him to tell her some charming new tale. She is not satisfied with the attempts of Śiva to narrate the story of his own history in a former life and wants something better than such worn-out stories. Having ensured that the door was closed and ordered Nandin to prevent any one from entering the place, Śiva commenced his narration of a story of immense length and extraordinary charm. He stated. "The gods enjoy absolute happiness and men, endless misery; yet god-like men (Vidyādharas) are apt to perform feats which rejoice the senses by their wonderful singularity; that is why I will relate to thee the history of the Vidyādharas."

In the meantime, Puṣpadanta, who was one of Śiva's gaṇas, made himself invisible by magical power entered and listened to the tale narrated by Śiva. He then related it to his wife Jayā who repeated it in the presence of Pārvatī. Pārvatī guessing what had taken place, in a rage, cursed Puṣpadanta, as well as the gaṇa, Mālyavat, who interceded for him, to be born as men. She fixed however, a time limit to the punishment. When Puṣpadanta met in the Vindhya forest a yakṣa called Supratīka who had become a piśāca with the name of Kāṇabhūti due to the curse of Kubera, and related the tale of the *Bk* to him, he would be released from the curse on him.

Puṣpadanta was born as Vararuci, (also known as Kātyāyana) in Kauśāmbī, while Mālyavat was born as Guṇāḍhya at Suprathiṣṭhita. Kṣemendra states[58] that Guṇāḍhya was born at Pratiṣṭhāna on the Godāvari while Somadeva mentions Supratiṣṭhita, the capital city of the Pratiṣṭhāna. This is the city which is known to have been the capital of the Āndhrabhṛtyas, who bore the patronymic name of Sātavāhana or Śālivāhana.

Vararuci who became the minister of king Nanda met Kāṇabhūti in the Vindhya forest and narrated to him the history of the seven emperors of the Vidyādharas and was released from his curse. Guṇāḍhya became the minister of the king Sātavāhana, who was a foundling adopted by the king Dīpakarṇi. Not knowing Sanskrit grammar the king made himself ridiculous before his queen by confusing 'māudaka' (no water) with 'modaka' (sweet meat). He therefore decided to learn Sanskrit grammar. Guṇāḍhya told him that he could teach him Sanskrit grammar in six years' time while another minister by name Śarvavarman promised to accomplish this in six months. Guṇāḍhya then vowed that he would never use sanskrit or

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58. *Pratiṣṭhanapure jato malyavandaksiṇapathe |*
guṇaḍhya iti yo loke viśruto guṇagauravat|| 1 : 1 : 71

Kṣemendra, *Bṛhatkathamañjari*, edited by Pandit Śivadatta and Kasinath Pandurang Parab, (Bombay, 1901). See also 1 : 111 : 12. Kss. 1 : 65; VI : 8, 24; VIII : 12

Prakrit or his own local dialect should Sarvavarman succeed. The latter wins the bet thanks to the revelation of the Kātantara grammar and caused Guṇāḍhya to repair to the forest, condemned thereafter to silence. Guṇāḍhya met the Piśācas there and Kāṇabhūti in particular who related to him the wonderful tale narrated to him earlier by Vararuci. Guṇāḍhya wrote it down in 700000 verses in the Paiśācī language and sent it to Sātavāhana. The king refused to have anything to do with a work written in a barbaric language. Guṇāḍhya sadly recited his work before the wild beasts of the forest and then consigned it into the fire. The beasts were so charmed by it that they forgot to eat and grew emaciated. The effect was soon felt in the quality of food served to the king who then came to hear of the wondrous work of Guṇāḍhya in the forest. He came to see him in the forest in time to save just the seventh part of his work which contained the history of Naravāhanadatta •

We have already seen[59] from the Cambodian inscription also that Guṇāḍhya disliked the Prākrit, and he was reinstated in his place (by king Sātavāhana). We also come to know from Bāṇa's[60] following statement in the *Harṣacarita* that the *Bk.* in its original form was a story narrated by Lord Śiva to Pārvatī.

'*Sumuddipita kandarpa kṛtagowrī prasadhana* |
Haralīleva no kasya vismayaya Bṛhatkatha||

(In whom would the *Bk*, not cause marvel as the sportive action if Śiva does by which the cupid was burnt up and Gowrī was pacified ?)

Apart from this, Jagaddhara,[61] one of the commentators of the *Vasavadatta* refers to Guṇāḍhya in the following lines.

"*gunaḍhyah ....tena kila bhagavato*
bhavanipater mukhakamalad upaśrutya Bṛhatkatha

59. Infra. p. 13
60. Bāna, *Harṣacarita* ed. P. V. Kane, (Delhi, 1965) Introduction v. 17
61. Hall, *Vasavadatta*, introduction.· p. 24

nibaddheti vartta.

("It is said that the *Bk.* was composed by Guṇāḍhya after listening to it from the mouth of Lord Śiva")

These references show that the legend narrated above had come down from an ancient source, and is not an interpolation by an imaginative later day writer.

The above legend gives us some chronological and biographical details about Guṇāḍhya and the Sātavāhana (or Śālivāhana) dynasty of kings who ruled over the Kuntala country with Pratiṣṭhāna, the modern Paitan, as their capital city (See map I). It is generally accepted now that the Sātavāhana king referred to in the legend of Guṇāḍhya may be placed somewhere in the first century A.D. [62]

A comparison of the text of the *Pk.* with that of the *Bk.* as mentioned in the above legend shows clearly that it is not by accidental coincidence that the name *Peruṅkatai* is synonymous with the term *Bṛhatkatha.* The *Pk.* deals mainly with the story of Udayana, the Vatsa king of the city of Kauśāmbī who is also the father of Naravāhanadatta. According to the legend of Guṇāḍhya, Naravāhanadatta is the main hero of the portion of the original *Bk.* which was not destroyed by fire. Thus the *Pk.* deals with that portion of the *Bk.* which narrates the life story of Udayana upto the birth, marriage and ascension to the throne of the Vidyādharas by Naravāhanadatta.

Source of the Peruṅkatai :

The next question to which we address ourselves concerns the source of the *Pk.* ie. whether the original *Bk.* of Guṇāḍhya itself was the source of the *Pk.* or was it some other later work based on the story of the *Bk.* Since the original *Bk.* of Guṇāḍhya is now lost and is beyond recovery we cannot decide this question except by reference to four versions of this work in Sanskrit and Prākrit which are available now.

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62. Satyanarayana. K, *A study of the History and Culture of the Andhras*, (Madras, 1975), p. 117 ff

(a) Kathāsaritsāgara :

Of these the Kss. of Somadeva and the Bkm. of Kṣemendra have already been mentioned. The Kss. is divided into eight lambhas and contains 12589 ślokas. From the Praśasti of this work, where Somadeva mentions that he composed this poem to amuse pious Sūryavatī who was the grand mother of Harṣa and the mother of king Kalaśa of Kashmir, its date is fixed as somewhere between 1063-1064 A. D and 1081-1082 A. D.

(b) Bṛhatkathāmañjarī :

The *Bkm.* which is written by Kṣemendra most probably had the same original as that of the Kss. in spite of the various readings[64]. The author Kṣemendra is a contemporary of Ananta, Kalaśa's father.[65] His *Bhāratamañjarī* was written in A. D. 1037. Thus, both Somadeva and Kṣemendra were from Kashmir and lived in the 11th century A. D. They are therefore later than Koṅkuvēḷir, the author of the Pk.

(c) The Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha :

A third version from Nepal called the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha* (Bkss.) written by Budhasvāmin was discovered in Nepal n 1893, and published by Lacote in 1908.

The contents of this wo.k differ in the form, sequence, and details from that of the Kashmerian versions. Unfortunately this work is also not available to us in a complete form. This may be inferred from the following. It is said in the text[66] that the hero Naravāhanadatta marries twenty six wives; but the available portion contains only the marriages of eight wives. Lacote who has done an extensive study has said that if this

63. Lacote. F. *op.cit.* p. 109

64. *Ibid.* p. 11

65. *Ibid.* p. 109.

66. *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha*, edited by Lacote (Paris, 1908.) IV. 3

work were available in its full form it would contain nearly 25,000 ślokas and more than 100 sargas. Nothing is known for certain about the date of this text. Lacote thinks that it could belong to a period before 9 th century A. D.[67] Lacote has established that the *Bkss.* is a more authentic version of the original *Bk.* of Gunādhya than the two Kashmerian works.

A comparative study of the contents of the *Bkss.* with the text of the *Pk.* shows that while the former deals only with the stories about Naravāhanadatta, the latter mainly narrates the story of Udayana, the father of Naravāhanadatta (we deal with the portions which are common to both the texts in chapter IV) Thus, the author of the *Pk.* could not have based his work on the *Bkss.*

(d) The Vasudevahiṇḍi :

The fourth version is a Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī prose work called the Vasudevahiṇḍi (Vh.) whose relationship to the *Bk.* was first pointed out by Alsdorf.[68] This was written by a Jain called Saṅghadāsagaṇi and completed by Dharmasenagaṇi. This work is referred as either '*Vacutēvahiṇṭi*' or *Vacutēvaṉār cintam* in Tamil literature.[69] A work called '*Vacutēvaṉār cintam*' has been mentioned in the commentary to *Yāpparuṅkalam* but it is not known for certain whether this had any relationship with the Vh. since it is not available to us now. The *Vh.* deals with the exploits of Vasudeva, the father of Kṛṣṇa and ascribes to him some of the adventures of Naravāhanadatta. However, this work again is closely similar to the *Bkss.* as regards its subject matter and is at

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67. Lacote. *op. cit.* p. 114

68. Alsdorf. L. *Eine neue version der verlorenen Bṛhatkathā des Guṇāḍhya* XIX. Congresso Internationai degli Orientalisti (Roma, 1933).

69. Vaiyapurippillai. S, *Kaviykalam*, 1st edition, (Madras 1957,) p.93 see also *Commentary to the Yāpparuṅkalam.* (Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai) ed. S. Bhavanandam pillai, (Madras, 1916), Part I. 1st edition ;Ceyyuḷiyal. v. 93. p. 350.

present being intensively studied in comparison with the *Bkss.*[70] As such, this work also could not have been the source of the *Pk.*

(e) Uditodayacaritam. :

Apart from the above mentioned Sanskrit and Prakrit works there are also two other works which are of South Indian origin. One of them is the *Uditodayacaritam* (Uc.) which is a Sanskrit work which exists only in manuscript form now. A translation of this work into Tamil was secured by Saminatha Iyer from one Tyagarajapuram Narasimhacariyar. A copy of this translation was available to me in the library of the Seminar fur Kultur and Geschichte Indiens, University of Hamburg.[71] Later it was possible to secure a photostat copy of the original Sanskrit work itself from the Oriental Research Institute, University of Mysore. This is written in the Grantha script and there are gaps in the text in some places where the manuscript has been damaged. From the literary point of view it is not of a high standard and there are many grammatical errors. Some of these errors could have also been made by the copyist. This text which is divided into seven Paricchedas deals with the same story as that of the *Pk.* even though the name Utayaṉaṉ has been changed to Uditodaya. At the end of the text the author provides some autobiographical details. From this part of the text we learn that the name of

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70. See. for example. Jain J. C, *Is Vasudevahiṇḍi a Jaina version of the Bṛhatkatha ?* 29th International conference of Orientalists, (Paris, 1973). Jain J. C, Vasudevahiṇḍi, an authentic., Jaina version of the Bṛhatkathā, L. D. Institute Series No. 59, (Ahmedabad, 1977) p. 396 ff.

    Mayrhofer C. M, *Budhasvāmin's Bṛhatkatha-ślokasaṅgraha continued*, Indo Iranian Journal, (Holland, 1975), p. 57 - 75.

71. I would like to thank Dr. S. A. Srinivasan of this seminar for bringing to my notice the availability of this translation in this library.

    See also. Introduction to Peruṅkatai ed. Swaminatha Iyer op. cit. p. xxviii.

the author was Śikhāmaṇi and that he was born in the town called Śrīśailam as the son of one Vṛṣabha. He appears to have been the disciple of a monk called Sri Cārukīrti.[72] From the invocations addressed to Vṛṣabha, Śrīvīra, Jinasena etc. at the beginning, from the reference to the work *Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi* and from many passages in the work itself, we can easily see that the author was a Jaina.

The date of the *Kṣatracūḍāmaṇi* of Vādībhasiṁha is known to be between the later part of the 10th century A. D.[73] and the earlier part of the 11th century A. D. Therefore the *Uc.* must have been written after this period. About the date of the monk, Cārukīrti, we obtain some information from an inscription in Dōṇi in the Dharwar district of Karnataka. It records a gift of a land into the hands of Cārukīrti by a merchant named Soviseṭṭi for the maintenance of a Jaina temple in the year 1097 A. D. [74]. We also learn that Cārukīrti had founded a line of pontiffs at Śravaṇabelgola in the beginning of the 12th century A. D.

I have also secured another manuscript of this text from the Muni Cārukīrti Jaina Bhandar at Śravaṇabelgola.[76] This manuscript also is very similar to the above mentioned manuscript

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72. Sikhamani sastry, *Uditodayacaritam*, Ms. No. p 4882 of the Oriental Research Institule, Mysore, Pariccheda, 7, v v. 75, 77.
    I acknowledge the help of Sri. K. S. Varadachar of this institute in securing this manuscript without delay.
73. Vijayalakshmy. *R. A study of* the *Civakacintāmaṇi particularly from the point of view of the interaction of Tamil and Sanskrit.* (L. D. Series, Ahmedabad, 1981), pp. 34, 35
74. *The Annual Reports on South Indian epigraphy*, 1927-28, Appendix E. No. 74
75. Desai. P. B., *Jainism in south India, and Jaina Epigraphs*, Jivarāja Granthamālā series, No. 6 (Sholapur, 1957), p. 125.
76. I acknowledge the help of Dr. A. Selvarajan of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, in securing a microfilm of this manuscript.

from the Oriental Research Institute, University of Mysore. As the Uc. is composed sometime in the 12th century A. D., it cannot be the source for the *Pk*. On the other hand, one may state with some confidance that this Sanskrit prose work was based either on the *Pk*. itself or shared a common Jaina source with it.

(f) Utayaṇakumārakāviyam

The other South Indian work is called the *Utayaṇakumara Kaviyam* (Ukk.) It is a work in Tamil dealing with the same story as that of the *Pk*. but in a much more condensed form. Unlike the *Pk*. it is complete. It is also a Jaina work consisting of 367 verses and is divided into six cantos. The names of the first five cantos are the same as those of the corresponding cantos of the *Pk*. The sixth canto bears the name Tuṟavukkāṇṭam, (the chapter on renunciation). This was first published by U. V. Saminatha Iyer in 1935[77]. As we do not know anything more about this work or its author, and its contents prove to be an abridged version of the *Pk*. it also cannot be the source of the *Pk*; instead it must almost certainly be an abriged version of the *Pk*.

(g) Vaccattoḷḷāyiram :

The commentator to the *Viracōḻiyam* cites as an example a verse from another work called *Vaccattoḷḷayiram* (nine hundred verses sung on the king of the Vatsas)[78] U.V.Saminatha Iyer has given this stanza along with two others[79]. From the mention of the name Utayaṇaṉ in one of them it is clear that this work dealt with incidents from the story of Udayana. As the remaining verses of this work are not available we cannot come to any definite conclusion about this work.

Thus we can easily see that none of the works listed above could have served as the source for the *Pk*. Apart from the

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77. *Utayaṇakumarakaviyam*, ed. by. U. V. Saminatha Iyer (Madras. 1935).
78. *Commentary to Viracōḷiyam*, *op.cit*. Alaṅkāram, 11
79. *Peruṅkatai*, ed. by. U. V. Saminatha Iyer, *op.cit* p. xxix.

above works there are also Sanskrit dramas like the *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* and the *Svapnavāsavadatta* of Bhāsa, the *Ratnāvalī* and the *Priyadarśikā* of Śrī Harṣa, *Tāpasavatsarājacrarita* of Anaṅgaharṣa Mātrarāja, the Vīṇāvāsavadattā; the *Abhisārikā vañcitaka* of Viśākhadeva, the *Manoramāvatsarāja* of Bīmaṭa, the *Kosalikā* of Bhaṭṭa Śrī Bhavanutacūḍa, the *Udayanacarita*, *Vatsarāja Carita* of Śūdraka, the *Unmāda Vāsavadattā* of Śakti Bhadra, the *Lalitaratnamālā* of Kṣemendra, the *Vāsavadattā* and the *Vāsavanātyadhāra* of Subhandu all of which deal with the story of Udayana. Purāṇas like the *Matsyapurāṇam*, the *Viṣṇupurāṇam*, *Śrīmat Bhāgavatapurāṇam*, the *Vāyupurāṇam*, *Skandapurāṇam* and Pāli works like the commentary to *Dhammapada*, Dharmapāla's commentary to *Petavatthu*, *Vinaya* of Mūlasarvāstivādin, *Divyāvadāna*, *Udayana-Vatsarājaparipṛcchā*, *Suhṛllekha* of Nāgārjuna, *Milindapañha*, Buddhaghoṣa's *Visuddhimagga* and his *commentaries*, Prakrit works like *Kumārapālapratibodha* of Somaprabha *Prabhandakośa* of Rājaśekharasūri, *Triṣaṣṭi-Śalākāpuruṣa-carita*, *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabha Sūri, *Mṛgāvatīcaritra* of Maladharidevaprabha and *Yogaśāstra* of Hemacandra contain parts of Udayana story. A comparative study of all these works has been carried out by Niti Adaval[80]. All these works deal with some part of the Udayana story. But none of them contains all the details of the story which are found in the text of the *Pk.* Hence none of them can be considered as the source of the *Pk.*

This leaves us with only the following two possiblities.

1. Koṅkuvēḷir used the original *Bk* of Guṇāḍhya itself as his source work.

2. He had a different source work which is now not available.

To decide between the above two possibilities, we have to acquaint ourselves a little more on the probable form and contents

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80. Niti Adaval, *The story of king Udayana as gleaned from Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit sources*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit studies, Vol. LXXIV, (Varanasi, 1970).

of the original Bk. to the extent to which it has been possible to reconstruct the same from comparative studies and later references which have come to light so far, of the original *Bk.* of Guṇāḍhya. It has already been stated that it was composed in the Paiśācī language, which was distinct from Sanskrit and Prakrit, and was considered to be the language of the goblins. What, then, is the nature of this language and where was it spoken ? Did it have any affinity to Tamil ?

The Paiśācī language.

All that has been said about Paiśācī language by the earlier grammarians and the conclusions arrived at by earlier scholars like Lacote, Grierson, Konow, and others have been summarised by Upadhye[81]. We shall consider the main points of his analysis and also point out wherever affinities to Tamil are found.

Paiśācī is one of the earlier Prākrit dialects to be grouped with Pāli, Ardhamāgadhi and the inscriptional Prākrits. Though the word Piśāca means goblin, it should be taken to refer to a tribe of people here.

1. Vararuci, the earliest Prakrit grammarian known to us, in the 10th Chapter of his *Prakṛta Prakaśa* set forth the following characteristics of Paiśācī.

(a) The intervocalic (or non-initial and conjunct) third and fourth letters of each class in Sanskrit are substituted by the first and second respectively. eg.

gaganam	*gakanam*
raja	*raca*
Madhavaḥ	*Mathavo*

(b) there is only *n* eg. *taruṇi* — *laluni*

81. Upadhye. *Paiśācī language and literature*, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, (Bombay 1940,) Vol. XXI, Part I-II pp, 1-37.

note : the changes in the examples are from Sanskrit to Paiśācī.

(c) The conjuncts *ṣṭa*, *sna*, and *rya* are simplified by Anaptyxis as *saṭa*, *sana*, *ria*.

Kaṣṭam	—	*Kasaṭam*
snānam	—	*sanānam.*

(d) *jña, ṇya, nya* becomes *ñja.*

eg.	*vijñātaḥ*	—	*viñjāto*
	sarvajñaḥ	—	*savvañjo*
	kanyā	—	*kañjā.*

In Tamil also we observe the Sanskrit soft letters being changed into the hard letters.

(e) The absolutive termination is *tūṇam*

dattvā	—	*datūṇam*
kṛtvā	—	*katūṇam*

(f) 'iva' is represented by '*piva*' and *hṛdaya* by *hitaaka.*

The illustrations here are given by Bhāmaha in his commentary to Vararuci.

2. Caṇḍa gives the following points in his *Prākṛta lakṣaṇa*

(a) *r* and *ṇ* are changed to *l* and *n*

(b) He also, like Vararuci, says that the third and fourth letter should be changed to the first and fourth letter.

giri	—	*kiri*
rājā	—	*rācā*
madanaḥ	—	*matano*
dāmodaraḥ	—	*tāmotaro.*

3. Namisādhu (1068 A.D) in his commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālamkāra* 11.2 gives the following rules.

(a) there is only dental '*n*' in Paiśācī.

(b) '*d*' changes to *t* (contrary to what is usual in Prakrit), We observe that this change always takes place in Tamil.

The equivalent for '*Vadanam*' (face) in Sanskrit, is '*Vatanam*' in Tamil. We can notice the same change also in Paiśācī.

(c) '*ṭ*' and '*p*' do not change into *d* and *v*.

(d) intervocalic *ka*, *ga*, *ca*, *ja*, *ta*, *da*, *pa*, *ya*, *va* are elided leaving behind the vowel.

(e) the conjunct *jñ* changes to *ñ*.

(f) *ya* in *hṛdaya* changes to *pa*.

eg. *hrdayam* — *hitapakam.*

(g) *ta* never undergoes any changes.

eg. *eti bimbam.*

(h) various consonantal changes prescribed in Prakrit are not applicable to Paiśācī.

4. Next we consider the conclusions of Hemacandra, Trivikrama, Lakṣmidhara and Simharāja

Lakṣmīdhara, Trivikrama and Siṃharāja have acknowledged their indebtedness to Hemacandra and therefore Upadhye follows more of Hemacandra.

(a) *t* and *d* become *t* in Paiśāci

damodaraḥ — *tāmotaro*

madana—paravaśaḥ — *matana—paravaso*

This change has been also pointed out by Namisādhu (b) and we have also shown the affinity to Tamil under that point.

(b) there is only dental *n* (see Vararuci (b))

(c) *l* changes to *ḷ*

eg. *sīlam* — *sīḷam*

salilam paravaśah — *saḷiḷam paravaso*

(d) *ṣ* and *ś* change into *s*

śobhate	--	*sobati*
śobhanam	—	*sobhanam*
viṣamaḥ	—	*visamo*

(e) *rya*, *sna*, *sṭa* sometimes change into *ria/riya*, *sina* and *saṭa / siṭa*

bharya	—	*bhariya/bharia*
snātam	—	*sinātam*
kaṣṭam	—	*kasitam*

(f) *jña*, *nya* and *ṇya* changes to *ññā*

prajña	—	*pañña*
jñānam	—	*ñānam*
vijñānam	—	*viññānam*
kanyakā	—	*kaññakā*
manyuḥ	—	*maññū*
puṇyakarma	—	*puññakammo*

(g) Instrumental singular form of *tad* and *idam* is *nena* in masculine and *nāe* in the feminine.

eg. *tatra ca tena kṛta snānena-tattha ca nena kata sinānena*

Upadhye, after giving all the important rules pointed out by various grammarians for Paiśācī, also observes the common grammatical rules agreed on by all. These are :

1. Hard consonants take the place of soft ones (with some, the rule is universal, with others it is optional, and with some it is confined to intervocalic consonants only).

In Tamil it is always the case.

2. There is only dental *s*

3. There is only dental *n*

4. The conjuncts *jñ ṇy, ṉy* are reduced to *ññ* and *rajan* gives alternative forms.

5. The conjūncts like *sn, st* are simplified by anaptyxis.

6. The absolute termination is *tūṇa.*

7. The word *hitapaka* is used for *hṛdaya.*

Some of the characteristics we have seen in the Paiśācī language have a strong affinity with the Dravidian group of languages, in particular with Tamil. These are the following

(a) Paiśācī has *ḷ*

(b) Paiśācī prefers *ṇ*

(c) changes sonants into surds

eg. *dāmodaraḥ*	—	*tōmōtaraṉ*
vadana	—	*vataṉam*

Upadhye also points out that the *ḷ* present in the Paiśācī can be also found in the Vedic sanskrit and change of sonants into surd can be observed also in some places in the Niya Prākrit of the Kharoṣṭhi documents.

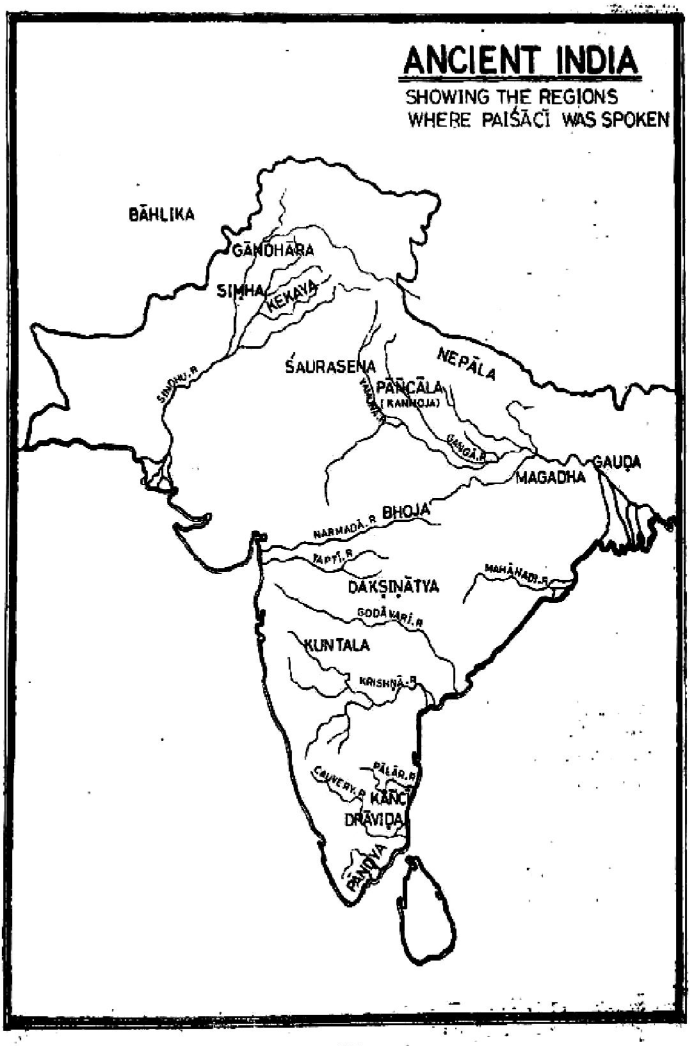
Where was Paiśācī spoken

Now, arises the question where exactly this language was spoken. The verses we find in the grammar books to explain the sub-dialacts of Paiśācī throw some light on the regions where it was spoken, although they do not agree on the number of sub-dialects of Paiśācī.

The grammarian Mārkaṇḍeya in his grammar text enumerates the following eleven regional dialects[82] of Paiśācī.

Kāñcīdeśīyapāṇḍye ca pāñcālam gauḍamagadham |
Vrācaḍam dakṣiṇātyam ca śaurasenam ca kaikayaṁ ||
Śabaram draviḍam ca eva ekādaśa piśācajāḥ |

82. A. N. Upadhye, *op. cit.* p. :9.


ANCIENT INDIA
SHOWING THE REGIONS
WHERE PAIŚĀCĪ WAS SPOKEN
BĀHLIKA
GĀNDHĀRA
SIMHA
KEKAYA
SINDHU. R
ŚAURASENA
NEPĀLA
PAÑCĀLA
(KANNOJA)
GANGĀ. R
GAUḌA
MAGADHA
BHOJA
NARMADĀ. R
TAPTĪ. R
DAKṢIṆĀTYA
MAHĀNADI. R
GODĀVARĪ. R
KUNTALA
KRISHṆĀ. R
PĀLĀR. R
CAUVERY. R
KĀÑCĪ
DRĀVIḌA
PĀṆḌYA

Map. 1

Kāñcī, Pāṇḍya, Pāñcāla, Gauḍa, Magadha, Vrācaḍa, Dakṣiṇātyam, Śaurasenam, Kaikayam, Sabaram and Drāvidam are the eleven countries mentioned in the above verse.

Lakṣmīdhara, following Hemacandra, and Trivikrama gives in the following verse the places where the Paiśācī was spoken.[83]

piśacadeśastu vṛddhairuktaḥ --
pāṇḍya-kekaya-bāhlika-siṃha-nepala kuntalāḥ |
sudheṣṇa-bhoja-gāndhāra-haiva-kannojanastathā ||
ete piśacadeśaḥ syustaddeśyastadguṇo bhavet |
piśacajātamathavā paiśacidvyamucyate ||

The regions mentioned in the above verse are Pāṇḍya, Kekaya, Bāhlika, Siṃha, Nepāla, Kuntala, Sudheṣṇa, Bhoja, Gāndhāra, and Kannoja.

From the above references and also from what Rāmaśarmā says we come to know that Pāṇḍya country in the south is also one place where Paiśacī was used. Prakrit grammarians have treated Paiśācī as a pure literary language ; but according to Upadhye[84] it must have been a spoken language of some country or clan. Hoernle thought that Paiśācī was the lower Prakrit spoken by Dravidians and located its home somewhere south of the Vindhyas.[85] Konow was of the opinion that Paiśācī described by Prakrit grammarians was based on a dialect spoken in and about the Vindhyas, and perhaps further to the south and east. He also points out a passage from Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamimamsa* to confirm this.[86] Grierson was of the view that Paiśācī and Pāli were languages of the North West of India[87].

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83. *Ibid.* p. 19
84. *Ibid.* p. 21
85. *Ibid.* p. 23
86. Konow, *Rājaśekhara on the home of Paiśacī*, Journal of the Royal Asiatic society, (1921) pp. 244.
87. Grierson, *The home of literary Pali*, Bhandarkar commemoration volume, (Poona, 1917,) pp. 117–23.

But Keith raised objections to his theory and concluded that the home of the Paiśācī was around Vindhyas.[88] · He also pointed out that the *l* and *n* which are present in Paiśācī are distinguished from other Prakrit dialects and they are present in Mālvi which is to be placed near the Vindhyas.

Paiśācī as a language spoken around the Vindhyas is also corroborated by the Kashmerian recensions of *Bṛhatkatha*[89] according to which Guṇāḍhya learnt Paiśāci language in the Vindhya forests. This is also supported by Guṇāḍhya's association with the court of Sātavāhana who was the patron of Prakrits as opposed to Sanskrit which was used by his Kṣatrapa rivals.

In order to answer the question whether the author of the *Pk.* could have derived his work directly from the Paiśācī *Bk* of Guṇāḍhya we should examine the possibility of a contact between the people of the Tamil country and those of the Vindhya region where Guṇāḍhya was supposed to have composed his work. Numismatic evidence dating from Vasishtaputra Satakarni (AD. 130-150), the brother of Pulumāyi, shows that he issued bilingual coins with his portrait,[90] a tradition followed by the western Kṣatrapas. Two such bilingual coins have been discovered where Prakrit and Tamil are written in their respective scripts. On the obverse is the portrait head of the emperor in the centre with a legend running around in Brahmi letters of the 2nd century A. D. It says "*Rajño vaṣithiputasa Siri Satakanisa*" i.e of king Sri Satakarni the son of Vasiṣṭi. On the other side we find '*Aracansa Vacitti makansa tiru Catakanisa*' which means the same as on the obverse. The words "*Aracansa*, *Makaṉ*, and *Tiru*" are Tamil ones. While the script on the obverse is in Brahmi that on the reverse is Damili, used in the caves of Tamilnad for writing Tamil. The language on

88. Keith A. B. *History of Sanskrit literature* (oxford, 1928), pp. 28ff, 269ff.

89. See. *infra*. pp. 14, 15

90. Satyanarayana, *op.cit*. p. 115

the obverse is Prakrit and on the reverse is an interesting mixture of Tamil with Prakrit endings. The close connection between the Sātavāhana empire and the Tamil country is further corroborated by a reference to the work *Śatavahanam* in the commentary to *Nannūl* by Mayilaināthar[91]. Here we are told that *Satavāhanam* is an example of a Tamil work named after the patron of the author. Vasiṣṭaputra yajñśri Śatakarṇi, a successor of Śatakarṇi, also issued his coins with both Tamil and Prākrit legends[92].

The recent researches of Hart[93] also deserve consideration in this context. These concern the problem of the remarkable similarities between the poetic literature of early Tamil and classical Sanskrit literature dating from the time when there can be no question of a direct interaction between the two. In the words of Burrow,[94] "the solution to the problem, according to Hart, is to be found in the lyric poetry of Mahārāṣṭrī which grew up and flourished in the Northern Deccan during the early centuries of the Christain era in the time of the Sātavāhana, rulers". Hāla, (A. D. 19-24), also known a Sālivāhana, was the compiler of the *Gāthāsaptaśati*, a collection of seven hundred erotic verses in Mahrārāṣṭrī Prakrit. These verses bear such a close similarity to the verses of *Akanānūru*, the collection of four hundred verses in Tamil on the theme of love, that Mativaṇan,[95] who has rendered some selected saptasati verses

91. R. Nagaswamy, *Seminar on Inscriptions* (Madras 1966) pp. 200—202.
92. *Ibid.* p. 202.
See also. Mayilainātar, *Commentary to Nannūl*, ed, by. U. V. Saminātha Iyer, (Madras, 1918), Pāyiram. v. 48.
93. Hart G. L. *The relation between Tamil and classical Sanskrit literature* (A History of Indian literature, ed. J. Gonda, vol. X Fasc 2, Wiesbaden Otto Harrassowitz. 1976) pp. 317-351.
94. T. Burrow. *Review on G. L. Harts Book.* The relation between Tamil and Classical Sanskrit literature, Indo Iranion lournal Vol. 21. (1979), .pp 282-4.
95. Mativanan, *Āntiranāṭṭu Akanānūru*, (Madras, 1978).

into Tamil, has felt justified in calling his work by the name *Āntiranāṭṭu Akanāṉūṟu*. i. e. the Akanāṉūṟu of the Andhra country !

"The dominion of the Sātavāhanas were mixed in language and population, the basic Dravidian element being overlaid by Aryan settlement. This implies a bilingual situation in many areas which made possible the influence of Dravidic oral literature on Mahārāṣṭrī poetry. In its turn the lyric poetry in Mahārāṣṭrī of which the Sattasaī is probably only a fragment' had a powerful influence on Sanskrit literature thus providing an admirable solution to the problem of the relationship of Tamil and Sanskrit literature.'"[96]

That Guṇāḍhya, the author of the *Bk.* may have had direct contact with or at least knowledge of the Tamil country can be inferred from the details of the town of Mathura of the Pandyas and the sea coast of that region found .in the Bkss. Lacote in discussing this passage, remarks that these details are of "a lively local colouring and of great geogaphical exactitude".[97]

All the above considerations, compounded with the fact that the Paiśācī language itself is said to have flourished in the countries of Pāṇḍya and Kañcī, and shares some linguistic features with Tamil, make it probable that the story of the *Bk.* could have reached the people of the Tamil country at a relatively early date.

There still remains however the problem of gleaning the course of development of the interaction of Tamil with the Sanskrit, Prakrit and Paiśācī literatures over the long and relatively unilluminated period extending from about the 1st century A. D. to the 7th century A. D. or so. Sometime during this period, we may infer that the original *Bk.* became extinct, since otherwise we cannot understand why Dandin should be so circumspect in his reference to the contents of the *Bk.* It was

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96. Burrow. T. *op. cit.* p. 283.
97. *Bkss.* XVIII. vv. 352, 353, 368, 390, 398, 399, 403, 408, 656. See also Lacote *op. cit.* p. 33

also during this period that many dramatic, poetic and prose works in Sanskrit which were based on the themes of the *Bk.* came to be written. Parallel to this was the development of an altogether different class of narrative literature, fostered mainly among the Jaina authors who found the themes and the style of the *Bk.* very attractive. We have already noted that this factor gave rise to the composition of the *Vh.*, probably before the end of the 3rd century A. D.[98] In particular the idea of developing the narrative in the form of '*Lambhas*' came to be adopted from the *Bk.* by the Jaina authors. The term '*Lambha*' is the Prakrit modification of the Sanskrit word '*Labha*' and denotes a chapter in which a conquest of the hero (i. e. his winning the hand of a maiden) is described. We find this technique of narration preserved only in the *Vh.* and the *Bkss.* among the versions of the *Bk.* Besides the *Vh.* there exist however other Jaina works which follow this technique. Another notable example of this is the *Civakacintamaṇi* of Tiruttakkatēvar in Tamil which is a Jaina Kāppiyam (Kāvya) divided into *Ilampakams* (i. e. Lambhaka an equivalent form of Lambha). The story of the hero's marriage with a maiden named Gandharvadattā through a musical contest has been specially popular among such authors and is to be found in the *Civakacintamaṇi*[99], Jinasena's *Harivamśapurāṇa*, *Guṇabhadra's Uttarapurāṇa* and so on, right up to the 12th century A. D., besides the *Vh.* the *Bkss.*, the *Kss.* and the *Bkm*[100]. All this goes to clearly establish that the narrative traditions and contents of the *Bk.* were faithfully incorporated in the corpus of Jaina narrative literature, most of which was originally in Prakrit, during the period under our consideration.

We now consider the *Pk,* with these facts in our mind. As we have already pointed out, even though the *Pk,* is not available in its complete form to us, it is unlikely it covered the

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98. Jain. J. C., *op.cit* p. 28.

99. Tiruttakkatēvar, *Civakacintamaṇi,* ed. by U. V. Saminatha Iyer, 6th edition, (Madras, 1957), Ilampakam.3

100. Jain J. C. *op. cit.* p.39.

entire theme of the original *Bk*. As regards the portions of the *Bk*. story actually covered by it, we shall also see that it contains numerous additional details which are not found in any of the other versions.[101] Besides, some of the names such as Piraccōtaṉaṉ, Utayaṇaṉ appear to have originated from Prakrit rather than Sanskrit forms. Thus the probablity of there having been a Jaina Prakrit original for *Pk*. dealing mainly with the Udayaṇa stories cannot be ruled out.

Scholars[102]. have pointed to the epigraphical references to the Sanskrit version of the *Vaḍḍakatha* i. e. the *Bk*. by the Ganga king Durvinīta (circa. 500 AD), though no such work has actually come to light so far. This king also appears to have

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101. See chapter–3.

102. *Annual Report of the Mysore Archeological Department* for the year 1916, (Govt Press, Bangalore, 1916) pp. 17, 31, 35.

Tumkur plate. 23.

At Hebbūru (Hebbūru hoblī), on Copper plates in possession of the Hirī-Maṭhada vadēr.

"............ sabdāvatāra - kāra-dēva - bhārati-nibaddha-brihat-pathaḥ kirātārjunīyē-pañcha - daśa-sarga - tīkā-kāra-Durvinīta-nāma........."

p. 17.

Uttanur Plates of the Ganga king Durivnītā. 20th year. Plate XII.

".........sabdāvatārakāreṇa dēva - bhāratī - nibaddha-vaḍḍakathena kirātārjunīyē - pañchadasa - sarga-tīkākāreṇa Durvinīta-nāma dhēyēna.........."

p. 35. lines. 25–26.

note : Vaḍḍa in old Kannada means 'bṛhat' in Sanskrit and 'peru' in Tamil.

See. also. Narasimhacariyar, "*An old Sanskrit version of the Bṛhatkatha*", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London, 1913) pp. 389, 390.

patronised the Jaina religion. Raghavan[103] and Saminatha Iyer[104]. have concurred in their identification of this work as the probable source of the *Pk.* While this appears probable it has to remain as a conjecture in the absence of additional supporting evidence.

Raghavan has also pointed to the mention of a quotation from a kavya called *Udayanodaya*[105] by Bhoja as an illustration of a *Kathaśraya-itivṛtta Mahakavya* ie. an epic based on narrative literature. This is supposed to have been based on the contents of the Kathāmukha of the *Bk.* and it cannot be ruled out that such a work may also have served as the source of the *Pk.* Having descussed the *Pk.* and related works dealing with the same story, we now pass on to a discussion of the place of the *Pk.* in Tamil literature.

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103. Raghavan. V. *op.cit* p. 829.

104. Saminatha Iyer. *Peruṅkatai* Introduction, *op·cit* p. lv.

105. Raghavan V. *op.cit.* p. 582, 783, 784. See. also. *Infra.* p. 13.

CHAPTER II

The Position of the Peruṅkatai in Tamil Literature

The earliest available literary works in Tamil are the Caṅkam works. Even though the Commentator, Aṭiyārkkunallār[1] speaks of ancient works such as Kali, Kuruku, Veṇṭāḻi, etc. which served as the models in the composition of the *Pk*, we are not in a position to say anything today about their probable form and literary contents. The *Eṭṭuttokai* and the *Pattuppāṭṭu* collections, belonging to the Caṅkam age are in the form of ballads and lyrics, which are mostly short poems dealing with themes of love (Akam), war and other incidents (Puṟam). However the Pattuppāṭṭu works may have set the pattern for the later Poruṭṭoṭarnilaicceyyuḷ (i. e. continuous long verses dealing with a single theme). These latter works came to be called by the name Kāppiyam, apparently at a later stage. Aṭiyārkkunallār emphasises this fact in his commentary by suggesting that it was the intention of Tolkāppiyar to include both '*Coṟṟoṭarnilai*' and '*Poruṭṭoṭarnilai*' verses under the catagory of Kāppiyam[2]. The *Cilappatikāram*, the '*Maṇimēkalai* and the *Peruṅkatai* represent the early Kāppiyam works in Tamil which were based mainly on Tamil literary traditions and were relatively free from the influence of the Sanskrit Mahākāvya tradition which began to take root in Tamil literature with the advent of works like the *Civakacintāmaṇi*.

Before analysing the basis of this classification it is important to acquaint ourselves with the fact that even by the time these works came to be written, a profound and intimate interaction had already taken place between the literary cultures of Northern and Southern India. This interaction was mainly the result of the migration of the Brahmins, the Jains and the Buddhists in different parts of the country. Some aspects of this interaction have already been discussed in chapter I[3]. The result of this

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1. Aṭiyārkkunallār. *op.cit*. Uraippāyiram. pp. 8, 9.
2. *Ibid*. Uraippāyiram. p. 8.
3. *Infra*. pp. 1–36.

interaction was to create a condition of flux in which widely disparate elements came to be fused together into a complex organic framework of literary traditions.

According to Winternitz[4], even when there might have been no such thing as Buddhistic or Jaina literature, there had existed a 'samaṇa' (śramaṇa) literature besides the brahmanic literature. Numerous traces of this samaṇa literature are to be found in the epics and the purāṇas. The characteristic features of this literature have been summed up by him as follows :

1. It disregards the system of Castes and Aśramas.

2. Its heroes are, as a rule, not gods and sages but kings or merchants or even Śūdras.

3. The themes are not brahmanic myths and legends but popular tales, fairy tales, fables and parables.

4. It emphasises the misery and sufferings of worldly existence and teaches a morality of compassion and non-violence which is quite distinct from the brahminical ideals of sacrifices, generosity towards priests etc.

Many stories occur both in Hindu epics and Jaina-cum-Buddhist literature. Some of the conversations in the *Mahābhārata* may be traced to the Gāthās of Pāli. The Jains and Buddhists attached great importance to popular tales and incorporated them in their religious literature. We find a large number of stories in the Jaina Angas, Commentaries, Niryuktis, Bhāṣyas and Cūrṇis. Apart[5] from this they have also converted the stories of the Itihāsas according to their religious doctrines.

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4. Winternitz. M. *The Jainas .in the History of Indian literature* ed. Jina Vijaya Muni, Jaina sahitya Samsodhaka studies, No. 2, (Ahmedabad, 1946). p. 5 ff.

5. Winternitz. M. History of Indian Literature, vol. II, (University of Calcutta, 1933), p. 489. ff.

When the Jains and Buddhists came to the Tamil country these stories became popular in the Tamil land. The monks carried out their religious propaganda through the medium of literature. Wherever they went, they made it a point to learn the language of that region and used it as the vehicle of their religious doctrines etc. It is against this backdrop of a mixed cultural milieu that we have to look at the evolution of the earlier epics in Tamil.

The common literary features of the three early epics. viz. the *Cilappatikaram*, the *Maṇimēkalai* and the the *Pk*, have already, been analysed in detail by the author elsewhere[6]. The main points of this analysis with special reference to the *Pk*. are summarised below :

1. The didactic motivation :

All the three epics, the *Cilappatikaram* the *Maṇimēkalai* and the *Pk.* arose in a period in which the Buddhists and the Jains were trying to establish themselves in the Tamil country. The *Maṇimēkalai* however differs from the other two works inasmuch as it is a work with an explicit religious motivation, dealing with the renunciation of the worldly life and adoption of the Buddhist religious faith by *Maṇimēkalai*. In contrast with this, in the *Cilappatikaram* and the *Pk.* religious expositions and ideas occur only incidentally.

The 'Patikams' which occur at the beginning of the *Cilappatikaram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* clearly set forth the '*raison d' etre*', for these two works. We thus find the following lines which occur in the Patikam of the *Cilappatikaram*[7].

"araciyal piḻaittōrkk araṅkūṟṟavatum
uraical pattiṉikk uyarntōr ēttalum
ūḻviṉai uruttu vant ūṭṭum eṉpatum...

....

(aṟam (retributive justice) becomes death to those who trespass the norms of right political behaviour; a praiseworthy wife

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6. Vijayalaksmy. R. "*The Earlies Epics*". *Literary Heritage of the Tamils*, (International Institute of Tamil Studies Madras, 1981) pp. 83–100.

7. *Cilappatikaram*, Patikam, *ll.* 55-57.

deserves worship from the great; The ūḻ (Karma) will always have its effect)

The author thus had a clearly didactic motive in composing this epic.

In the *Maṇimēkalai*[8] the motive of the author in writing the work is stated to be the narration of the story of "*Maṇimēkalai tuṟavu*" (ie. the renunciation of wordly life by Maṇimēkalai). The rest of the story is only incidental, serving to make it interesting and agreeable to the readers.

It is thus clear that in both cases, the authors have attempted to make use of the literary form of a narrative poem (Pāṭṭuṭaicceyyuḷ) to expound concepts or incidents of a purely religious or didactic character. They are the products of centuries of growth and maturity which samaṇa narrative literature had undergone.

The *Maṇimēkalai* is closely related to the *Cilappatikāram* and its plot contains many details which bear a relationship to the story of the latter. In many instances, even a prior knowledge of the incidents of the story of the *Cilappatikāram* is assumed. This relationship has led later commentators like Aṭiyārkkunallār[9] to group the two works together to constitute a single Peruṅkāppiyam. His reason for doing so is the requirement that a Peruṅkāppiyam must deal with a story which sets forth the fourfold pursuits of life. viz. dharma, artha, kāma and mokṣa ie. aṟam, poruḷ, iṉpam, and vīṭu. This is explicitly stated by Dandin in his *Kāvyādarśa* in the phrase '*Caturvargaphalopetam*' in his definition of a Mahākāvya[10]. The author of *Taṇṭiyalamkāram* also stresses this point in the line,

8. Cīttalaicāttaṉār' *Maṇimēkalai*, ed. U. V. Saminātha Iyer, (Madras, 1931), Patikam, *ll*. 96, 97.

9. Aṭiyārkkunallār, *op. cit.* pp. 10-11

10. Dandin, *Kāvyādarśa*, edited with English translation by S. K. Belvalkar. (poona, 1924), vv. 14-19.

'narporuḷ payakkum naṭai neṟittaki'.[11]

According to Aṭiyārkkunallār, since there is no part of th• *Cilappatikaram* which deals with the topic of renunciation i.e. vīṭu, it has to be combined with the *Maṇimēkalai* which narrates incidents leading to the renunciation of the worldly life by *Maṇimēkalai*, and the two together would thus constitute a Peruṅkāppiyam[12]. This idea is reinforced by the phrase,

''maṇimēkalai mēluraippōruṇ muṟṟiya Cilappatikaram''

Which occurs in the Nūṟkaṭṭurai of the *Cilappatikaram*[13].

The elements of Jainism in the *Pk*. are treated seperately in detail in chapter VI We shall therefore deal only with the question whether the author of the *Pk*. also adopted the convention of illustruting the fourfold ends of life by his narrative. We draw a blank at the very outset since the portion at the beginning of the *Pk*. is not available to us and there is no part of the present text which coresponds to the Patikam verses in the *Cilappatikaram* and the *Maṇimēkalai*. The work is also incomplete at the end; the text abruptly ends at the point where the vidyādhara Mānacavēkaṉ, forcibly carries away Mataṉamañcikai, the bride of Naravāṇaṉ. The text of the *Ukk*. however is complete and takes the story upto the point of 'Utayaṇaṉtuṟavu' i. e. renunciation of worldly life by Udayana. In fact the Naravāṇakāṇṭam of the *Pk*. is followed by a sixth canto in the *Ukk*. which is called the Tuṟavukkāṇṭam. It thus appears probable that the *Pk*., which the *Ukk*. follows faithfully in all other respects, would also have contained a similar section, thus conforming to the tenet of describing all the four ends viz. Aṟam, Poruḷ, Iṉpam, and Vīṭu (i. e. dharma artha, kāma, and mokṣa) in his kāppiyam.

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11. *Taṇṭiyalaṅkaram*, (published by Ramalingattampiran› Madras, 1971). v. 8.
12. Aṭiyārkkunallār. *op. cit.* 10-11.
13. Cilappatikāram. *op. cit.* Nūṟkaṭṭurai. pp. 17, 18.

2. The supernatural element :

In the Caṅkam poetry, one rarely comes across supernatural beings, except for the references in the 'Akam' (love) poems to 'Aṇaṅku' 'Veṟiyāṭṭu' etc. which indicate the widespread belief among the people in evil spirits and their efforts to appease these spirits. In the earlier epics this situation changes drastically and the supernatural element gains prominence because of its obvious value for contributing a touch of the marvellous to the narrative.

Even though Cāraṇas (flying monks) and Vidyādharas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* along with the Apsaras, Gandharvas etc. it is only in the Buddhistic and Jaina literature that one finds these celestial beings being accorded a place of considerable importance. A striking example of this is the transformation of the monkeys and the demons in the *Rāmāyaṇa* into Vidyādharas in the Jaina work, *Paumacariyu.* The *Bṛhatkathā*, a veritable treasure-house of fantasies and intricate stories, dealing mainly with the story of *Naravāhanadatta*, who became the emperor of the Vidyādharas, appears to have captivated the minds of men of letters all over the country by the time the earlier epics of Tamil literature had come to be written.

Coming to the *Pk*, the Vidyādhara motif occupies the central part in the story. We are told of the prediction that Naravāṇaṉ will conquer the empire of the Vidyādharas.

accam il aṟṟal ōr viccātarar iṭai
āḷi uruṭṭum eṉṟ aṟintōr uraitta[14]

(the prediction of wise people, that he will rule over the Vidyādharas)

mācil viñcaiyar malaiyakan taḷii
āḷi uruṭṭiy eṉvayiṉ varūm..............[15]

(come back to me after ruling in the Vidyādhara mountain.......)

The elephant, Pattirāpati (Bhadrāvatī), with whose help Utayaṇaṉ carries away Vācavatattai from Ujjayinī, is none other

14. *Pk.* 5 : 1 : 161–162.
15. *Ibid.* 5 : 3 : 186.

than a Vidyādharī maiden who became a she-elephant upon being cursed by a sage.

Viñcai makaḷ avviḷai piṭiyaki[16]

(the Vidyādharī lady who became a female elephant............)

Utayaṇaṉ is led by a celestial maiden[17], who appears before him in a dream, to the court of Lord Kubera, who then presents him a gem which portends the birth of Naravāhandatta, the future emperor of the Vidyādharas. The elopement of Vācavatattai with Utayaṇaṉ from Ujjayinī takes place in the tumult and confusion created by a water festival. This festival was ordered by the king, Piraccōtaṉaṉ (Pradyota), because of the utterances of Pākīrati[18] (Bhāgīrathī), a sooth-sayer woman, who is supposed to have been possessed by a deity. A yakṣa named Nañcukaṉ[19] helps Utayaṇaṉ to quench his thirst on a hot day in the woods where he has been hunting. He again appears before Utayaṇaṉ, when Vācavatattai develops the pregnancy wish to fly in the sky. He suggests that the king should invoke the assistance of Pattirāpati for getting an aerial car made.

Mataṉamañcikai (Madanamañjukā), the bride of Naravāhanadattā, is finally kidnapped by the Vidyādhara prince, Māṉacavēkaṉ (Mānasavega). All these incidents clearly reveal the important role played by the supernatural element in the development of the plot of the *Pk*.

3. Characterisation.

A look at the chief characters in these early epics also clearly points to a period preceding the stage when the prototype hero of a Mahākāvya had come to be accepted in Tamil literature, as, for instance, in the case of the *Civakacintāmaṇi* or in the *Kamparāmāyaṇam*. In the *Cilappatikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai*,

16. *Ibid*, 5 : 6 : 43; 5 : 3 : 52 ff.
17. *Ibid*, 5 : 1 : 77–79.
18. *Ibid*, 1 : 35 : 225 ff.
19. *Ibid*, 5 : 2 : 64 ff.

the focus is only on the heroines, Kaṇṇaki and Maṇimēkalai, and to a somewhat smaller extent, the courtesan, Mātavi. Kōvalaṉ and Utayakumaraṉ serve only as foils to the strong characters of these heroines. In the *Pk.* we do have Utayaṇaṉ as the hero but he is not the "catura udātta nāyaka"[20] of the Sanskrit Mahākāvya or equivalently, the "*taṉ ṉikar illat talaivaṉ*"[21] whose inclusion as the hero is considered to be an essential prerequisite of a Peruṅkāppiyam (Mahākāvya). He is a prince who is well versed in and fond of music, archery, the other arts and sciences (eg. the hasti-śikṣā i.e. science of elephants) and a person who likes to be in the company of ladies; in other words, a *dhira lalita* type of hero, who is not suited for a Mahākāvya according to the later day rhetoricians.

We also find somewhat elderly ladies predisposed towards religious and philosophical persuits, serving as caretakers or fostermothers of the heroines in all the three early Tamil epics. Examples are Cutamati[22] in the *Maṇimēkalai*, Cāṅkiyattāy[23] in the *Pk.* and Tēvanti[24] in the *Cilappatikāram*. They are brahmins by birth, who lead a wayward life to begin with and thereafter come into the fold of the Buddhistic or the Jaina religion. The introduction of such characters may either reflect what was a genuine social happening or may have been a technique employed by the non-vedic authors to condemn the brahminical practices and to extol the compassion with which such persons were sheltered by their own respective religions.

4. The plot

It may safely be stated that the *Cilappatikāram* is chronologically the oldest of the three epics. Its plot may have been based on a legend which had been current among the people

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20. *Kāvyādarśa.* vv. 14–19.
21. *Taṇtiyalaṅkāram.* v. 8.
22. *Maṇimēkalai*, 5 : 23 ff.
23. *Pk.* 1 : 36 : 150 ff.
24. *Cilappatikāram*, 1 : 9 : 33.

of the Tamil land at that time. As Vaiyapuripillai[25] has noted, the indifference of a chieftain called Pēkaṉ towards his queen named Kaṇṇaki is the theme of many verses which occur in the *Puṟanāṉūṟu.* Similarly the mention of a lady who lost one of her breasts is found in a verse in the Naṟṟiṇai. The story of the '*Maṇimēkalai* is but a sequel to that of the Cilappatikāram. This can be seen even in the details regarding the naming of Maṇimēkalai. We are told in the *Cilappatikaram*[26] that Kōvalaṉ named his daughter after the goddess Maṇimēkalai who saved one of his forefathers during a voyage when his ship was wrecked at sea. The same account also occurs in the Maṇimēkalai[27]. The deity, Maṇimēkalā, is said to roam in the sea just for the purpose of protecting seafarers, having been thus ordained by Indra. Now, this deity is of, Buddhistic origin and references to her are also found in the *Saṅgha Jataka*[28] and the *Mahajana Jataka.*[29] According to Sylvan Levy[30] the legend of the goddess Maṇimēkalā may have originated around the cities of Pukār and Kāñci (There exists a temple dedicated to the goddess Annapūrṇā in Kancheepuram even now). This legend might have been incorporated at a later date into the Jātaka stories mentioned above. Thus the *Cilappatikaram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* have chosen as their theme, stories which were current at that time among the people of the Tamil land in one form or another, and added to it other features which may have had a northern origin, not necessarily brahmanical.

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25. Vaiyapuripillai. S. *Kaviyakalam, op.cit.* p. 103 ff.
26. *Cilappatikaram*, Aṭaikkalakātai. lines. 37-35.
27. *Maṇimēkalai*, *5.*
28. *The Jataka stories of the Buddha's former Births,* translated into English by W. H. O. Rouse, ed. by E. B. Cowell, Vol. IV. (Cambridge, 1901), story NO. 442.
29. *Ibid, Mahajana Jataka,* Translated into English by. Tawsein ko (Rangoon, 1888) story No. 539
30. Sylvan Levy, *Maṇimekalai, a Divinity of the sea,* The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. VI. (December, 1930) NO. 4, pp. 614 ff.

The situation is totally different with regard to the *Pk.* which probably for the first time in Tamil literature adopted a story of the North, viz. that of the *Bṛhatkatha*, as the theme. It deals extensively with the exploits of king Udayana of the city of Kauśāmbī. The incidents of the story takes place mostly in the cities of the Avanti, Vatsa, and Magadha countries and not in Pukār, Maturai, and Vañci as in the case of the *Cilappatikaram*. The character names, place names etc. have accordingly been modified to suit the Tamil language. For example, the foster mother of Vācavatattai is called Caṅkiyattāy (ie. the mother who belonged to the Sāṅkhya sect). But we know from the *Kathasaritsāgara*,[31] the *Priyadarśika*[32] and the *Tāpasavatsarāja*[33] that her actual name was *Saṅkṛtyāyani*. Similarly the king of the Licchavi dynasty is named as Elicevi. Other variations found are; Urumaṇṇuvā for Rumaṇvāṉ, Viricikai for Viracitā (Viracikā), Piraccōtaṉaṉ for Pradyota, Naravāṇaṉ for Naravāhana (datta), Ilāvāṇa for Lāvāṇaka and so on. Many of these transformations may have taken place via the corresponding Prakrit terms. It must be mentioned here that this trend is already discernible in the *Cilappatikaram* in which there occurs such names as Māṉāykaṉ for Mahānāyaka, Mācāttuvāṉ for Mahāsārthavāha, Nūṟṟuvar kaṉṉar for Satakarṇi etc.

5. Sub-sections :

All the three earlier Tamil epics contain sections called 'Kātai's. In the *Cilappatikāram* and the *Pk.* they serve as sub sections; in *Maṇimēkalai* Kātai is the name given for the various chapters. U. V. Saminatha Iyer[34] in his preface to the Cilappatikāram points out that the Kātai means 'Ceyyuḷ' according to the commentator of *Nilakēcittiraṭṭu*. The teachings of the Buddhist religion were mostly propagated in the form of Sūtras, Gāthās, Jātaka stories and other legends. On

31. *Kss* : 2 : 6 : 65 : 66, 71-72.
32. Sri Harṣa *Priyadarśika* ed. by. Kale, 1st edition (Bombay 1928), chapter - III, IV.
33. *Tāpasavatsarāja*, Prelude to Act. III
34. Saminatha Iyer, *Cilappatikāram*, 9th edition (Madras, 1978) Introduction. p. ix.

these, gathās were supposed to be in the form of verses which were set to music. The literary style of the gāthā literature points to an age prior to the development of prose. While some of the gāthas might have arisen around the period of the early stages of development of the Itihāsas.

In addition to the division into 'Kātais' the *Cilappatikāram* and the *Pk.* also adopt the division of the poem into Kāṇṭams as in the case of works like the *Rāmāyaṇa.* In the case of the *Cilappatikāram* which was said to belong to all the three kings of the Tamil country (Muṭikeḻu vēntar Mūvarkkum Uriyatu), this division may have served the purpose of highlighting the fact that the events took place in the three capital cities of Tamilnadu. viz. Pukār in the Cōḻa country, Maturai in the Pāṇṭiya country and Vañci in the Cēra territory. *Cilappatikāram* also contains the 'Maṅkaḷa Vāḻttuppāṭal (invocatory verse) Kāṉalvari, Vēṭṭuvavari, Āycciyarkuravai, Tittiraṅkēṭṭa tuṉpamālai, Urcūḻvari, Vañciṉamālai, and Kuṉṟakkuravai. All these various types of sub-sections owe their origin to the basic fact that the *Cilappatikāram* is a dramatic epic (nāṭakakkāppiyam) which is in a form suitable for being acted on a stage. The *Maṇimēkalai* has only 'Kātais' and is characterised by the technique of narration involving stories within stories. The *Pk.* has the most straightforward style of narration in which it is always the author who is narrating the story to the readers.

How the characteristic features of Tamil literary tradition have been interwoven into the story the Pk.

We now proceed to consider the manner in which the author of the *Pk.* interweaves specific characteristics unique to the culture and literature of the Tamils, in the narration of a story of North Indian origin. As illustrations we take the following examples.

Description of landscapes according to 'aintiṇai'.

(i) After eloping from Uccayiṉi, Utayaṇaṉ and Vācavatattai travel across different regions and countries, until they reach the

city of Cayanti (Jayantī). This affords an opportunity for the poet to describe various types of land and the fauna and flora peculiar to them in accordance with the well known classification of Mutal (the basic things) Karu (objects characteristic of the particular region) and Uripporuḷ (the type of love peculiar to each region) belonging to the five types of land. We thus find whole chapters dealing with 'marutanilaṅkaṭantatu (crossing the agricultural land) mullainilaṅkaṭantatu (crossing the forest land) kuriñci nilaṅkaṭantatu (crossing the montaneous region) and pālai nilaṅkaṭantatu (crossing the arid land). Only the 'neytal land (coastal region) is left out, since it would be obviously inappropriate to include the coastal country in the description of a journey which takes place well inside the country and far away from the sea-coast.

The Patumāpati episode narrated according to Kaḷaviyal[35].

While Utayaṇaṉ is being held captive in Uccayiṉi, his kingdom is invaded and occupied by the king Āruṇi. His ministers wish to strengthen the hands of Utayaṇaṉ by bringing about an alliance with Tarucakaṉ (Darśaka), the powerful king of the Makata (Magadha) country, accomplished through a marriage between him and Patumāpati, the sister of Tarucakaṉ. As a first step, Yūki causes a fire to break out in the palace and convinces every one including Utayaṇaṉ that his queen Vācavatattai, is dead. Utayaṇaṉ is then taken by his friends to the Makata country at a time when a festival in honour of Kāmaṉ, the god of love, is to take place for a period of seven days. The princess, Patumāpati, arrives at the temple of Kāman (Kamā) and offers worship there. Utayaṇaṉ who stands reclining on the trunk of a Puṉṉai (Mast wood/Calophyllum Inophyllum) tree on her way, lost in his musings about Vācavatattai, is seen by her at that time. Utayaṇaṉ also sees her and both of them fall in love with each other immediately. From this point onwards, upto their subsequent marriage with each other, all the incidents have been described by Koṅkuvēḷir in accordance with the literary conventions of Kaḷaviyal

35. *Pk.* 3 : 5-15.

(clandestine love) in Tamil. Thus Patumāpati who sees Utayaṉaṉ for the first time wonders whether he is Kāmaṉ himself.

....
naṉ ṉakar koṇṭa taṉṉamar viḻaviṉuṭ
karumpuṭaicc celvaṉ virumppupu tōṉṟit
taṉṉalaṅ katum eṉak kāṭṭiy eṉṉakat
tiru niṟaiy aḷattal karutiyatu oṉṟu kol[36]
....

(Is it the one with a bow of sugarcane who has come here in person in order to judge the firmness of my heart in the festival celeberated for him?)

The situation described here comes under the category of 'aiyam' (doubt);[37] soon after their 'encounter' (kāṭci) with each other they develop the suspicion whether the other person is a celestial being or a mortal.

The fact that Utayaṉaṉ and Patumāpati have fallen in love is expressed by the phrase;

Veñciṉa viṭalaiyoṭu neñcu māṟāṭi[38]

(Having changed hearts with the mighty young man).

After circumambulating the temple, Patumāpati donates gifts to all the brahmins. Then one of the maidens in her retinue prays to the god of love that Patumāpati may be blessed with a worthy husband like Utayaṉaṉ, the illustrious player of the vīna, who belonged to a noble family. Patumāpati then hopes that the person whom she met on the way to the temple would possess such qualities and returns to the palace.

Utayaṉaṉ in the meantime approaches a hunchback attendant of Patumāpati named Ayirāpati (Airāvatī) and finds out who Patumāpati is. In return when the lady asks him about his identity, he informs her that he is a brahmin named Māṇakaṉ who is the son of one Cāṇṭilyaṉ belonging to the ruby island (Irattiṉattīvam) in the Kāntārā (Gāndhāra) country.

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36. *Pk.* 3 : 6 : 67–70
37. *Iṟaiyanār akapporuḷ*. ed. C. V. Tamotarampillai, (Madras, 1944), p. 30.
38. *Pk.* 3 : 6 : 76.

Patumāpati and Utayaṇaṉ spend the whole of that night restlessly, thinking about each other. The chapter which describes how they spent the night without sleep bears the name '*Kaṇṇuṟu kalakkam*'. The same incidents are repeated for the next five days, and by then their pangs of love get intensified. The physical state of Patumāpati is noticed by her mother and friends who grow worried. This corresponds to the stage of *Muṉṉuṟavuṇartal* in Kaḷaviyal. At last on the seventh day Ayirāpati discovers the cause of her emaciation. Patumāpati notices a ball in the hand of Utayaṇaṉ on that day and requests Ayirāpati to fetch it for her. Ayirāpati then gestures with her glance to Utayaṇaṉ, who is then forced to reveal his mind to his friends who are with him. They tell him that his feelings for Patumāpati cannot be true and not desirable in any case. The chapter describing the above events has the caption '*Paṅkaṟkkuraittatu*'. This makes it clear that the author's intention is to describe the whole episode in accordance with the well established conventions of Kaḷaviyal, in which 'Pāṅkkaṟkkuraittal' (the hero narrating about his love for the heroine to his companions) is a distinct stage.

The story then moves on to the stage of *Kuṟitalaippeytal* (wherein a rendezvous is fixed by the lovers and they meet each other at that spot). In this episode, the rendezvous is a park adjoining the temple of Kāmaṉ, where Utayaṇaṉ leaves a garland of flowers made by him and Pātumāpati takes it and wears it as if she did not know how it came there. This chapter is called '*Kaṇṇitaṭumāṟiyatu*'. This incident enables them both to confirm their mutual feelings. Utayaṇaṉ also suspends along with the garland, a banana leaf in which he has portrayed with his nails all the incidents since their meeting with each other in the temple of Kāmaṉ. Patumāpati goes there for her bath and takes away the garland left by Utayaṇaṉ instead of her own. Vayantakaṉ picks up the garland left behind by her and gives it to Utayaṇaṉ.

The next chapter is on '*Puṇarvuvalittatu*' in which the lovers finally decide to unite. Utayaṇaṉ expresses to his friends his wish to reach Patumāpati's palace somehow and is met by

their stout opposition to his plea. Finally he manages to persuade them to extend their assistance to him. They then approach the king Tarucakaṉ and on the pretext of finding out hidden sources of water in his courtyard, hide themselves at different spots in the palace. On the last day of the festival, Patumāpati and her friends manage to spirit away Utayaṇaṉ from a hiding place in the temple, into the palanquin of Patumāpati and thence into her apartment. There Utayaṇaṉ reveals to her his mastery in playing on the lute. These events may be said to correspond with the description of '*Pakaṟkuṟi*' and '*Uṭaṉpōkku*' in kaḷaviyal.

After the above events, a war breaks out between the king Tarucakaṉ and the confederation of enemy kings (Caṅka maṉṉar). Utayaṇaṉ then leaves Patumāpati with his friends and actively assists the king to secure victory in the war. This finally leads to the wedding of Utayaṇaṉ with Patumāpati with the blessings of the king. These incidents have also been described in the manner of Kaḷavu works wherein the hero would leave the heroine in order to fight on the king's behalf (*Vēntaṟkuṟṟuḻip pirital)*

Viricikai episode and the reference to 'Tamiḻiyal vaḻakku'[39].

(iii) A clear reference is made by the author of the *Pk.* to the special traditions of the Tamil people in matters of love. This reference occurs in the episode dealing with Utayaṇaṉ's marriage with Viricikai. Utayaṇaṉ encounters Viricikai who is the daughter of a hermit in the Ilāvāṇaka forest.[40] She is then a small girl who has never met any men other than the ascetics in the forest. On seeing Utayaṇaṉ she wonders whether he is the god of love (Kāmaṉ) about whom she has heard in stories. She then comes near him and asks him to make a garland for her, using the flowers which she holds in her hands. Utayaṇaṉ makes a garland for her and finding that she does not know how to wear it helps her to wear it and sends her away. This incident leaves a

39. *Ibid*: 4 : 17 : 67.

40. *Ibid*: 2 : 15 ; 4 : 15, 16, 17.

deep impression in the mind of the little girl, who, when she grows up into a beautiful maiden, insists on marrying none other than Utayaṉaṉ. By this time Utayaṉaṉ has become the king of the Vatsa country. Viricikai's father approaches Utayaṉaṉ with a request that he should marry her. Utayaṉaṉ obtains consent from Vācavatattai for the proposed marriage and then sends for Viricikai. The people of the city who look at her on her way to the palace of Utayaṉaṉ, converse among themselves and remark that their king had adopted the custom of the Tamil country in his marriage to Viricikai.

....

imiḻ tirai vaiyatt ēyar peru makaṉ
tamiḻ iyal vaḻakkiṉaṉ.........[41]

....

(The lord of the Eyars in this world has adopted the custom of the Tamils...)

Here the term '*ēyar perumakaṉ*' refers to Utayaṉaṉ who is the scion of the Hēhaya family. This is a frequent reference which occurs in the *Pk.* as well as in the *Bkss.* in which the family of Naravāhanadatta, is referred to as that of the Haihayas by Rumaṇvāṉ (Urumaṇṇuvā).[42] The meaning of this reference becomes clear when we take note of the fact that Utayaṉaṉ's maternal grandfather Cētakaṉ was the son of Keka and Yaśomatī of the Haihaya clan.[43]

The reference to the 'Tamiḻ iyal vaḻakku' which has been adopted by Utayaṉaṉ in this passage, clearly pertains to the tradition of 'Kaḷavu' ie. of secret, clandestine meeting and union which is later followed by kaṟpu ie. legalised wedding and domestic life. Even though the gāndharva form of marriage was recognised in Sanskrit tradition, the special reference to the customs of the Tamils here reveals the effort of the author to adapt the story to the traditions of the language in which he narratēs it.

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41. *Ibid.* 4 : 17; 16, 17.
42. '*haihayānām kulam tuṅgam*' *Bkss.* VII : 64.
43. Sikdar. J. C. *Studies in the Bhagawatisūtra*, (Prakrit Jain Institute Research Publication series vol. 1. Bihar, 1964) p. 498.

The description of Irācakiri (Rājagiri) inspired by caṅkam literary tradition.

(iv) The description of the city of Irācakiri (Rājagiri) which occurs in the Makata kāṇṭam.[44] again reveals a special technique which the author has borrowed from the caṅkam literature, in particular, the *Paripāṭal*.[45] In this description, the city is likened to a large lotus which has blossomed in a pond.

The area of the military barracks is compared to the pond. The other parts of the city are then compared with the different parts of the lotus, The description is as follows.

The king's palace is the innermost part of the flower viz. the pericarp (Koṭṭai), the ministers' residences the inner petals (alli), the brahmins' residences are the inner petals, the watch men's quarters the calyx and the courtesans' houses the outer calyx.

Each of these section are described with further details and on the whole the description seems to be an elaboration of the following description which occurs in the *Paripāṭal*[46].

māyōṉ koppūḻ malarnta tāmaraip
pūvoṭu puraiyuñ ciṟūr pūviṉ
itaḻ akatt aṉaiya teruvam itaḻ akat
tarum pokuṭ aṉaittey aṇṇaṉ kōyil
....

(The city is comparable with the lotus which sprang from the navel of Lord Krishnā. The streets are like petals and the palace of the king is like the thalamus).

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44. *Pk.* 3 : 3.

45. *Paripāṭal*, (Published by South India Saiva Siddhanta works publishing Society, Madras, 1969) Paripāṭal tiraṭṭu, v. 7.

We find the same idea also in the *Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai*[46] where the city is compared with the lotus which sprang from the navel of lord Viṣṇu.

....
nīniṟav uruvi neṭiyōṉ koppūḷ
nāṉmukav oruvaṟ payanta pal itaḷt
tāmaraip pokuṭṭiṟ kāṇ varat tōṉṟic
cuṭu maṇ ōṅkiya neṭu nakar
....

(The high walled city which is comparable with the thalamus of the lotus covered with many petals came from the navel of the Lord Viṣṇu).

The metre

The *Pk.* is written in the metre Akavaṟpā / Āciriyappā which mostly consists of feet made of two syllables, (Iyaṟcīr / Āciriya uricīr) The taḷai (the link between the two feet) employed in this metre is mostly Āciriyattaḷai and Iyaṟcīrveṇṭaḷai. Sometimes we also find Veṇcīrveṇṭaḷai and Kalitlaḷai in places where feet made of three syllables (mūvacaiccīr) are found.

It should have a minimum of three lines and the maximum number of lines can be of any number depending on the wish of the poet. The penultimate line should have three feet (cintaṭi) whereas the other lines can be of four feet (aḷavaṭi). The final syllable of the final foot will have to always end with one of the following sounds, ē, ō, eṉ, ī, ā, āy, or ai. This metre has a narrative tone (akaval ōcai) which has been selected by Koṅkuvēḷir as the best suited for the narration of his long poem.

Tolkāppiyar has divided the requirements of the Toṭarnilaicceyyuḷ into eight kinds called as *vaṉappus*. Among them the *Pk.* falls in the category of the '*Iyaipu*'. The *Pk* fully satisfies the definition of Iyaipu, by having the word and subject of one kātai being continued in the kātai which follows it. ie. the word which occurs at the end of the last line of one kātai is also used in the beginning of the next kātai. The subject matter is also

46. *Perumpāṇāṟṟuppaṭai.* Pattuppāṭṭu, ed. by. U. V. Saminatha Iyer, (Madras, 1931) *ll.* 402–5.

followed from one kātai to the other thus fulfilling the requirement of Poruṭṭoṭarnilaicceyyuḷ.

The salient literary features discussed above have contributed to the high rank occupied by the *Pk.* in Tamil literature. The frequent and numerous references to it by eminent literary commentators bear testimony to the esteem and authority it enjoyed among them. Since its rediscovery and publication in recent times its contents have received increasingly closer attention in the hands of the scholars. As such the inclusion of the *Pk.* along with the Cilappatikāram and the Maṇimēkalai as one of the three major earlier epics in Tamil appears to be fully justified; at any rate this scheme of classification seems to be more valid than the forced enumeration of unavailable works such as the *Kuṇṭalakēci* and the *Vaḷaiyāpati* as constituting the five major epics (aimperuṅkāppiyam) along with the Cilappatikāram, Maṇimēkalai, and the Cīvakacintāmaṇi.

In the next chapter we shall see that besides occupying an exalted position in the corpus of Tamil literature, the *Pk.* also has considerable significance in Indian literature as a whole. This is because it fills a major gap in the narrative of the original *Bk.* by furnishing an account of the Udayana stories as they were probably found in the original work. We shall in fact show that the *Pk.* is the only single source from which these details may be gathered.

CHAPTER III

The Contribution of the Peruṅkatai to the reconstruction of the Udayana legends and its significance for Indian literature.

The Pk as a detailed source work of the Udayana legends.

The position of the *Pk.* in the history of Indian literature is of importance from the point of view of the contribution it can make to our knowledge about the Udayana stories which form the basic theme of many Prâkrit, Sanskrit and Pāli works. The original fountain of this story would no doubt, have been the original *Bk.* Alsdorf[1] who compared the *Vh.*, the *Bkss.* and the Kashmerian versions of the *Bk.* concluded that the Udayana stories formed an integral part of the original *Bk.* and were probably narrated in the Kathāpīṭha of that work.

Among the versions of the *Bk.* available now, except the *Pk.* only the *Kss.* and the *Bkm.* contain a somewhat detailed version of the Udayana story. Though the *Bkss.* refers, here and there, to certain incidents relating to Udayana's life[2], it does not narrate the same in a continuous and detailed manner.

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1. Alsdorf. L. *Eine neue version der verlorenen Bṛhatkathā des Guṇādhya.*
2. *Bkss.* I. 67, II. 41. — Pālaka refers to the training he had received in the hands of Udayana and in particular to the instruction he received in the science of elephants.
   Bkss. V. 91-174. — Udayana's early life.
   Bkss. VII. 6?. — The capture of Kauśāmbī by the king Āruṇi in the absence of Udayana.
   Bkss. V. 286-296 — Udayana's journey in the aerial chariot and how he greets Darśaka at Magadha and Mahāsena at Ujjayiṉī.
   Bkss. V. 324 — The reference to the Bhadārvatī gate. i. e. the gate which was erected in the memory of the elephant, Bhadrāvatī.

In his comparative study that has been refered to already, Lacote[3] points out that the portion dealing with the Udayana story in the original *Bk.* may have contained approximately 30,000 out of a total of 1,00,000 verses. If this estimate is correct, it is obvious that the Udayana story must have been narrated in a detailed manner in the original *Bk.* This possiblity is more or less confirmed by the contents of the *Pk.* It is the only text in Indian literature which contains such a detailed narration of the life story of Udayana. The name '*Utayaṇaṉ katai*' by which the *Pk.* is refered also suggests that it was the intention of the author of the *Pk.* to confine himself only to the part of the original *Bk.* which dealt with the story of Udayana. In the words of Donald[4] Nelson, 'no version (of the *Bk.*) matches even remotely the vast and detailed Udayana story found in the *Pk*'.

Except for a reference by Lacote in his essay[5] the text of the *Pk.* has not been included till recently by scholars in their comparative studies of the versions of the *Bk.* For example, Niti Adaval[6] who has attempted to reconstruct the Udayana story as gleaned from Sanskrit, Prākrit and Pāli sources, has left out the south Indian sources altogether. The main reason for the omission of the *Pk.* is that most scholars who are interested in problems connected with the *Bk.* do not know Tamil, while Tamil scholars usually lack a command of Sanskrit which could enable them to undertake such a study. Saminatha Iyer did make a beginning in this direction but was hampered by the lack of first hand knowledge of Sanskrit. It has come to our notice only

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3. Lacote. *op. cit.* p. 154.
4. Donald Nelson. "*Bṛhatkatha Studies : The Tamil version of the Bṛhatkatha*", Indo-Iranian Journal, Vol. 22 (Holland, 1980) p. 224.
5. Lacote, *op. cit.* pp. 147–148.
6. Niti Adaval, *Udayana story as gleaned from Sanskrit Prākrit and Pāli sources.*

recently that Donald Nelson of the University of Chicago has worked on these lines[7].

The main aim of this chapter is to give a brief summary of the story of Udayana as found in the *Pk.* with a discussion highlighting the important contributions made by the *Pk.* to the reconstruction of the Udayana story in its original form through a comparison with the references found in the *Kss.* the *Bkm.* and the *Bkss.*

The missing portions at the beginning of the *Pk.*

As already mentioned in chapter one, the present text of the *Pk.* starts in the middle of Kātai 32 of the first canto. It i however possible to piece together the probable contents of ths missing portion at the beginning of the *Pk.* from passages found in the later part of the *Pk.* itself, as well as from a comparison with the *Ukk.* and the *Uc*[8]. For the sake of continuity we include these portions also in the discussion which follows.

1. Circumstances of Utayaṉaṉ's birth :

In the Chapter, "Avalantīrntatu" (How Utayaṉaṉ got over his distress after the disappearance of Yūki) in the Ilāvāṇakāṇṭam of the *Pk.* itself, an account is given of the circumstances of Udayana's birth. This account is as follows[9] :

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7. Donald Nelson, *The Bṛhatkathā : A Reconstruction from Bṛhatkathāślokasaṃgraha, Peruṅkatai and Vasudevahiṃdi*, Unpublished dissertation, (The University of Chicago, 1974.)
   See. *Bṛhatkatha studies : The Tamil version of the Bṛhatkathā.*, Indo-Iranian Journal Vol. 22 (Holland, 1980.) Foot note 15.
8. We have already dealt with this topic in detail in an article included in South Indian Studies II, under the title '*A study of the missing portion at the beginning of the Peruṅkatai with special reference to its relationship to the Bṛhatkathā,*' (published by Society for Archeological, Historical and Epigraphical Research, (Madras, 1979) pp. 59-76.
9. *Ib id.* pp. 67-68.

The pregnant queen, Mirukāpati (Mṛgāvatī) of king Catānikaṉ (Śatanīka) of the Vattava (Vatsa) country is sleeping on the upper terrace of the palace, covering herself with a red cloth. Thinking that she is a piece of meat, a powerful bird (cimpuḷ) seizes her and brings her to a banyan forest near a mountain called Vipulam. There, her father, Cētakaṉ (Ceṭaka), who was formerly the king of the Eyars (Hehayas), is dwelling in, a hermitage. The bird finds her alive and drops her near the hermitage. Out of fright and fatigue, the queen gives birth to a boy at that very spot. She embraces the child and starts to cry over her helpless state. At that very moment, her father, Cētakaṉ, happens to come that way, recognises his daughter, consoles her and takes her to his hermitage along with the new-born baby. He names the boy as Utayaṇaṉ because he was born at the time of sun-rise.

The accounts found in the *Ukk.* and the *Uc.* are very similar; in the latter, the name of the boy is given as Uditodaya instead of Utayaṇaṉ. The *Bkm.* and the *Kss.* give the following account of Udayan's birth.[10] During her pregnancy, Mṛgāvatī, the mother of Udayana, experienced the 'dohada' (pregnancy wish.) of bathing in a tank filled with blood. In order to fulfil her wish, her husband, Śatānīka, arranged to have the water in a tank coloured red by means of dyes. When the queen was bathing in it, she was mistaken for a piece of meat by a monster-bird. The bird pounced at her and, snatching her between the claws, flew away with her to a far off place on the Udayācala. However, when the bird came to realise that she was a living being, it left her alone and flew away. The poor queen was so dejected that she wanted to die, but no wild beast would harm her. She was, however, rescued by a disciple of the sage, Jamadagni, who located her following the direction of her lamentations. She was led to a hermitage where, in due course of time, she gave birth to a son. A divine voice from the heavens named him as Udayana, forecasting a magnificient future for him.

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10. Niti Adaval, *op. cit.* pp. 30-31

In the *Bkss.*, the story is related by Udayana's mother Mṛgāvatī to her daughters in law, Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī. Her account runs as follows : [11].

"During my pregnancy, my husband Satānīka enquired what my 'dohada' was. I confided to him my pregnancy longing with great difficulty. He with the help of his ministers, made arrangements for its fulfilment. Putting on red garments and red ornaments with a red umbrella shading me and surrounded by attendants who were also putting on red clothes and thus were giving the resemblance of a forest of red Aśoka trees, I went round the city riding in a red carriage. Because of the red hue, a monster-bird, taking me for a luscious piece of meat, flew away with me in front of the very eyes of my husband, Śatānīka. It dropped me at some unknown place but was checked from eating me by two disciples of sage Vaṣiṣṭha. They guided me to their hermitage where Vaṣiṣṭha calmed me down and gave me shelter. In the tenth month of my pregnancy I gave birth to your husband, under an auspicious conjunction of stars. Vaṣiṣṭha gave him the name "Udayana" as he was born on the Udaya mountain

2. Events upto the time of Utayaṉaṉ's coronātion :

Information about these incidents is also available from the same chapter of the *Pk.* cited above.[12]

In the hermitage of Cēṭakaṉ there also lives another sage by name Piramacuntaraṉ (Brahmasundara). He has a wife called Piramacuntari (Brahmasundarī) and a son named Yūki. Utayaṉaṉ and Yūki grow up together as playmates. After sometime, the sage, Piramacuntaraṉ, imparts to Utayanaṉ a mantra to calm down wild elephants and presents a lute called Kōṭapati (Ghoṣavatī). With the help of these Utayaṉaṉ brings a celestial elephant under his control.

Vikkiraṉ, (Vikkiramaṉ in the *Ukk.*) the son of Cētakaṉ comes one day to visit his father in the forest. He is sad on

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11. Ibid. p. 32

12. *Pk.* 2 : 11 : *ll.* 49 ff.

account of the fact that he has no heir. When he learns that Utayaṉaṉ is his own sister's son, he decides to take him back with him and instal him as his successor to the kingdom. After obtaining the consent of Mirukāpati and Cēṭakaṉ for this he departs to his country accompanied by Utayaṉaṉ.

King Catāṉikaṉ of Kōcāmpi (Kauśāmbī) in the meantime approaches a soothsayer who informs him about the whereabouts of his missing queen and about the events which had taken place since her disappearence. He proceeds to meet his wife and son, While in the *Pk.* we are told that Utayaṉaṉ and Yūki grew up together as playmates in the hermitage of the forest, the *Kss.* and the *Bkss.* describe Yaugandharāyaṇa as the son of a minister of Satānīka by name Yogandhara. Similarly, Rumaṇvān is the son of a commander - in – chief named Supratika (- pa) and Vasantaka is the son of the court-jester[13]. The *Bkss.*[14] adds to this list a character named Ṛṣabha, whose son Gomukha becomes one of the companions of Naravāhanadatta later on[15]. The Kashmerian works give the name of Gomukha's father as Ityaka, who is said to have been an attendant of Udayana[16]. He is also known as Nītyodita. Kṣemendra gives his name as Nityodyata.

The acquisition of the lute, Ghoṣavatī (Skt. form of 'Kōṭa-pati in Tamil), by Udayana is described in the Kashmerian works in a fanciful way. Here it is said that Udayana encountered a hunter who had captured a snake and secured its release by offering him his bracelet as a reward. The *Kss*[17]. then informs us that the snake who was none other than Vasunemi, the eldest brother of Vāsuki, presented to Udayana the lute, Ghoṣavatī, along with a secret formula for making unfading garlands and for decorating the forehead with indelible patterns. The *Bkss*[18]. follows a slightly different tradition according to

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13. *Kss.* 4 : 3 : 89 - 90.
14. *Bkss.* IV : 20
15. *Ibid.* VI. 11.
16. *Kss.* 4 : 3 : 90.
17. *Kss.* 2 : 1 : 1 80-81
18. *Bkm.*, Kathāmukhalambha, Guccha 1, vv. 58-60.

which the snake led Udayana to the nether-world where he met and married a maiden named Lalitā. She was the one who presented these articles to him. A third version occurs in the *Bkss*[19]. Here we are told that Udayana met some boys on the bank of a pond and was taken to the nether-world below the water by them. There he was introduced to a person called Kambala. ' The sage who already knew about all these incidents by virtue of his extra-sensory perception, asked him to go back and obtain from his friends a lute named Ghoṣavatī, with which he would be able to control wild elephants.

In the Kashmerian works[20], the hunter who secures the bracelet belonging to Udayana tries to sell it in Kauśāmbī and is apprehended and taken to the king, Śatānīka. It is thus that the latter gets to know about the whereabouts of his wife and his son who was born in his absence. This incident is not mentioned at all in the *Bkss*. and we are simply told that Udayana is taken back to his father by the disciple of Vaṣiṣṭha[21].

The birth of two more sons who were named as Piṅkalaṉ and Kaṭakaṉ to Satānīka and Mṛgāvatī after their reunion is not mentioned by any of the versions except the South Indian ones[22].

3. Utayaṇaṉ's capture by Praccōtaṉaṉ

The celestial elephant had laid down three conditions to be obeyed by Utayaṇaṉ for it to stay with him. These conditions were that[23].

(i) no one other than Utayaṇaṉ should get on its back.
(ii) no one should tie it with a strap of leather.
(iii) Utayaṇaṉ should not eat before feeding it.

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19. *Bkss*. V : 130 ff
20. *Kss*. loc. cit. v. 83 ff.
    Bkss. loc. cit. v. 122 ff.
21. *Bkss*. V : 142 - 144.
22. *Pk*. 3 : 24 : 51.
23. *Pk*. 2 : 11 : 118-119.

Once Utayaṉaṉ spends much time in watching plays and as a result forgets to feed the celestial elephant before his meal. The elephant therefore leaves him and he is plunged in grief. He orders his men to look for it all over the country. The incident of the loss of the celestial elephant is not described in any part of the available text of the *Pk.* but both the *Uc.* and *Ukk.* agree in their accounts of this incident[24].

The episode of Utayaṉaṉ's capture by Piracōtaṉaṉ (Pradyota) can be pieced together from several allusions to it occurring in the later part of the *Pk.* itself. These allusions are found in the following places in the *Pk.*

(i) The message sent by Piraccōtaṉaṉ to Utayaṉaṉ in the Vattavakāṇṭam[25].

(ii) The encounter with the hunters during Utayaṉaṉ's elopment with Vācavatattai[26].

(iii) In the conversation between Yūki and Iṭapakaṉ in the Ilāvāṇakāṇṭam[27].

Adding up these references together we obtain the following picture of this incident from the available text of the *Pk.* itself. Piraccōtaṉaṉ wishes to establish matrimonial connection with the family of the Kurus even though they are inimical to him, since there is no other family which is on par with his own family. To achieve this, he resorts to a strategem, when he is informed by his spies that Utayaṉaṉ is listless on account of the loss of the celestial elephant. He devises an artificial elephant fashioned out of wax, thread, wood, cloth, leather, and animal hair. It contains a machine to propel it with great speed. One of the ministers of Piraccōtaṉaṉ leads his soldiers who are stationed within the fake elephant and are well armed. This elephant is then made to roam about in the territory adjoining the Vattava country. When

24. *Ukk.* 1 : 30., *Ucc.* Pariccheda. 2, vv. 60-62.
25. Pk. 4 : 10 : 111-119.
26. *Ibid.* 1 : 55 : 24-34.
27. *Ibid.* 2 : 9 : 36-38.

Utayaṇaṉ comes to know of this,he goes in pursuit of it thinking that it may be the missing celestial elephant and is then suddenly confronted by the warriors of Piraccōtaṉaṉ, who capture him. On hearing that Utayaṇaṉ had·been capture though deceit by Piraccōtaṉaṉ, Yūki resolves to secure his release. With this end in view, he spreads a rumour among the people of Kocāmpi that he is dead and sets out for Uccayiṉi (Ujjayinī). There he goes into hiding and assumes the disguise of a possessed person. In the middle of the night he gets into the palace where the royal elephant is kept and causes it to run amuck in the streets by burning incense near it. The king who is at a loss to find some one who can control the elephant and save the city is advised to seek the help of Utayaṇaṉ for this. Piraccōtaṉaṉ accordingly sends for Utayaṇaṉ with the request that he should bring the wild elephant under control and protect the lives of the citizens of Uccayiṉi. Utayaṇaṉ then goes into the streets of the city playing on his lute. The royal elephant is pacified and he ascends it. The king greets him from the *Pulimukamaṭavayil* (the entrance of the terrace with the emblem of a tiger's face) as Utayaṇaṉ comes there, surrounded by the people of the city who hail him.

In the kashmerian works viz. the *Kss.*, and the *Bkm.* these events are described as follows.[28]

"Udayana, after becoming the king of the vatsa country, was engaged in hunting and playing on the lute, *Ghoṣavati*. The king of Ujjayinī. Caṇḍamahāsena, who had two sons, Gopālaka and Pālaka, celeberated a festival in honour of god Indra and was blessed by him with a beautiful daughter whom he named as Vāsavadattā. When she came of age, Mahāsena, wanted to marry her to Udayana, but because of their mutual enmity, thought of securing his services as a music teacher for her so that they might come into contact and fall in love with each other. He therefroe despatched a messenger to Udayana asking him to come to Ujjayinī and give lessons on the lute to the princess. Udayana refused to do so and suggested that Vāsavadattā might be sent to Kausāmbī, if she was interested in learning music form him. Mahāsena who thought that it was not proper to send his daughter to Kauśāmbī, was then forced

28. Niti Adaval. op. cit. p. 73 ff.

to resort to the strategem of capturing Udayana with a fake elephant. When the latter was thus brought to Ujjayinī Mahasena asked him to commence music lessons for Vāsavadattā. It was while Udayana was thus engaged, that Yaugandharāyaṇa and Vasantaka come to Ujjaynī in disguise in order to set him free from captivity."

In the *Pk.*, king Piraccōtaṉaṉ (Pradyota) is also referred to as 'Maṟamāccēṉaṉ'[29]. His motive in capturing Utayaṇaṉ is found to be the same in both versions of the *Bk.* The motif of the missing celestial elephant is absent in the Kashmerian works. Instead we are simply told that Udayana was tempted to bring the fake elephant devised by the men of Pradyota under his control, since he thought that it would be a match for the elephant Nadagiri and its capture by him would impress king Pradyota and hence would pave the way for his offering the hand of Vāsavadattā in marriage to him. The entire episode of the taming of the elephant, Nalagiri, is not found in the Kashmerian works. But the Prākrit works the *Kumarapalapratibodha* and the *Pradyotakatha* mention the effort of Yūki to intoxicate Nalagiri, how it got loose from its pillar post and how Udayana ultimately brought it under his control[30].

4. Utayaṇaṉ's first meeting with Vācavatattai and the commencement of lute lessons.

The present text of the *Pk.* starts with the meeting between Utayaṇaṉ and the king Pīraccōtaṉaṉ. Pīraccōtaṉaṉ who is pleased with Utayaṇaṉ for having controlled the wild royal elephant and thus saved his citizens from devastation and deaths reflects that it must be on account of his meritorious acts (in previous births) that Utayaṇaṉ has acquired such skills and knowledge at such an early age. He requests Utayaṇaṉ to be the

29. *Pk.* 2 : 7 : 118, 2 : 17 : 107, 3 : 21 : 85, 5 : 7 : 28, 5 : 8 : 4

30. Niti Adaval, *op.cit.* p. 89.

instructor for his two sons. He then asks him what had caused the state elephant to run amuck all of a sudden[31].

During this conversation the daughter of Piraccōtaṉaṉ (Vācavatattai) is by the side of her father along with her attendants. Utayaṇaṉ and she exchange glances at each other. Even though they belong to countries which are far from each other, they have been brought together by the power of the karmas of earlier births. When Utayaṇaṉ lifts up his head to answer the king's question he meets the eyes of Vācavatattai and she becomes agitated by his direct gaze. Both of them immediatly recognise their mutual feelings and develop a mutual affinity under the influence of love born of connections through several earlier births. Realising that they are both in the presence of the king, Utayaṇaṉ quickly regains his composure and, as though he had read the mind of the elephant, explains to him the cause of its wild behaviour. The courtiers, including the mahouts of the royal elephant, hear his exposition and applaud him. Piraccōtaṉaṉ orders his officials to make ready a luxurious apartment in the Kuñcaraccēri (where the elephants are kept) for Utayaṇaṉ. Mounted on the elephant and cheered by the crowds, Utayaṇaṉ goes to his new residence and, after ordering the mahouts to tie up the elephant in its place, enters it. Having conducted a thorough scrutiny of all parts of the house he satisfies himself that no foul play is intended by the king against him and then decides to live there. In the night Vācavatattai and Utayaṇaṉ think of each other and spend a sleepless night, troubled by the pangs of love.

The next morning Piraccōtaṉaṉ sends for Utayaṇaṉ. On his arrival Piraccōtaṉaṉ offers him a seat saying that henceforth he should treat the royal palace as his own house. After this Piraccōtaṉaṉ requests Utayaṇaṉ to remain there and goes inside the palace. From there he despatches a minister of his by name Civētaṉ with the following message to Utayaṇaṉ. 'one of my daughters wants to learn to play on the lute. Her mother and myself are anxious on this account. It is your duty to relieve us

31. *Pk.* 1 : 32 : 28.

now."[32] When Civētaṉ conveys this message to Utayaṇaṉ, the latter wonders why such a request has been made to him by the king. He wonders whether the king wanted to test if he would respond in a manner suited to his noble birth or whether he wanted to humiliate him or else whether it was simply a whim of his. But then he decides that it might be good for him to comply with the wish of the king since it might enable him to meet Vācavatattai again. Though he is curious to know the exact person to whom he is going to give lute lessons, he is unable to ask Civētaṉ directly about this. Finally he thinks that in any event, an occassion might arise during his music lessons, for the girl (Vācavatattai) whom he had met the previous day to come there. He conveys his consent to the king's proposal through Cīvētaṉ ; the king selects Vācavatattai (among all his maiden daughters) to have lute lessons from Utayaṇaṉ. The people in the palace whisper among themselves that Utayaṇaṉ is lucky to be appointed as the teacher to Vācavatattai who is also fortunate to receive her instruction in music from him. Her foster mother decorates Vācavatattai and takes her to the stage where a curtain is hanging in between the teacher (Utayaṇaṉ) and the student (Vācavatattai). Both of them are not aware of the identity of the person on the other side of the curtain till it is finally lifted up[33]. Then the friends of Vācavatattai accompany her to the stage in order that she may pay her respects to her music teacher. Only there they both discover who the other person is.

As remarked earlier, according to the *Kss*. Udayana is kidnapped from Kauśāmbī with the very purpose of being employed as the music teacher to Vāsavadattā[34]. Udayana who is now a prisoner in the hands of Pradyota (Mahāsena) gets furious when he hears the latter saying 'Prince, teach music to this lady; in this way you will obtain the happy fruit of your adventure'. But then he sees Vāsavadattā and immediately falls in love with her; his anger is therefore quickly quenched and agrees to obey

32. *Ibid*, 1 : 34 : 57-54
33. *Ibid*. 1 : 34 : 230.
34. *Kss*. 2 : 4 : 23-37., *Bkm*. Kathāmukhalambha guccha 2. p. 49.

the king's command[35]. There is no mention here of the Nalagiri episode at all. We also do not find any allusions to the sons of Pradyota being left under the care of Udayana. In the *Pk*. we see the king Piraccōtaṉaṉ addressing Utayaṇaṉ soon after the elephant Naḷakiri (Nalagiri) has been tamed by him, as follows :

> *'nuṉ patip peyarkkum aḷavaiyi numpiyar*
> *niṉ vaḻippaṭukeṉa maṉṉavaṉ uraiyak*[36]
> ....

(The king said, 'Till you go back to your city, your brothers (Piraccōtaṉaṉ's sons), will be under your care.........').

Later on in the kātai 'Viḻākkoṇṭatu'[37], there occurs a detailed description of how the sons of Piraccōtaṉaṉ exhibited their skills, acquired during their apprenticeship under Utayaṇaṉ, in front of their royal father and his courtiers. The names of these princes are given as Pālakaṉ (also Pālakumaraṉ) and Kōpālakaṉ in a passage which occurs, later in the *Pk*[38]. We find references to Pālakaṉ's mastery over elephants both in the *Pk*[39]. and in the *Bkss*.[40]

We find no reference to the curtain which was hung between Udayana and Vāsavadattā during their musical sessions in the Kashmerian works. The Pāli, and Prākrit works agree with the *Pk*. in stating that there was a curtain between Udayana and Vāsavadattā[41].

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35. *Kss*. ? : 4 : 26–30.
36. *Pk*. 1 : 32 : 13–14.
37. *Ibid*. 1 : 37.
38. *Ibid*. 4 : 11 : 49.
39. *Pk*, 1 : 37 : 207.
40. *Bkss*. I : 67, II : 41.
41. *Dhammapada commentary*, Bk. 2; story 1. Part 4. Somaprabhācārya, *Kumarapalapratibodha*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XIV, (Baroda, 1920) p. 80.

3. The Narumatai (Narmadā) Episode.

The character Narumatai as well as the incidents connected with her do not occur in any other version of the *Bṛhatkatha*. The music lessons take place daily and the commencement of the music lessons to Vācavatattai by Utayaṇaṉ attracts adverse publicity from the people of the city who complain that king Piraccōtaṉaṉ has thoughtlessly left his daughter with an enemy king for lessons on the lute, and that in due course the king is bound to learn that this action would lead to only bad and not good results. Others, who are afraid that if such comments were to reach the ears of the king they are sure to be punished, keep their thoughts to themselves. In the meantime Vayantakaṉ, who has come to Uccayiṉi with Yūki assumes the disguise of a brahmacāri (bachelor youth) becomes friends with Pālakumaraṉ the son of Piraccotaṉaṉ, and his friends. One day on the instruction of Pālakumaraṉ, Vayantakaṉ carries garlands, sandal paste and fresh clothes to Utayaṇaṉ. Though Utayaṇaṉ at first exclaims that he has seen Vayantakaṉ somewhere already, the latter refutes it. But later they recognise each other even though they do not allow others to notice their reactions. At the request of Utayaṇaṉ, Vayantakaṉ is sent by the prince to him with flowers every day. This situation provides Utayaṇaṉ an opportunity to have Vayantakaṉ as a messenger between Yūki and his friends who are staying in the city and himself.

During this time Utayaṇaṉ is completely overpowered by the beauty of Vācavatattai, and this causes pallor (pacalai)[42] to spread all over his body. Utayaṇaṉ fears that people who had known him earlier would detect the cause of the pallor of his body if they saw him now. To avoid any scandal which would then

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42. *Pk.* 1 : 35.

Pallor of the body in love-lorn condition is a theme of frequent occurrence in Tamil literature. The word *Payalai* (Pacalai) in line 55 of this kātai refers to the golden colour which appears on the skin. In Tolkāppiyam, Poruḷatikāram, Meyppāṭṭiyal. Sutra-22, this appearence is counted among the twenty symptoms which occur before the union of lovers.

surround the name of Vācavatattai, he thinks of a ruse in consultation with Vayantakan. He sends the latter to look out for a courtesan in the city, so that his present condition may appear to be due to his affair with her. So Vayantakan makes inquiries and finds out that there is a courtesan called Narumatai, among those having the honour of Talaikkōl[43] and who give dancing lessons in the city. Vayantakan with one hundred and one gold, coins (Kalañcus) in hand goes to the courteasans quarter and asks for Narumatai. He tells the people in the neighbourhood that since the day on which Narumatai was seen on the street by Utayaṇan the latter is pining for her. When he reaches the house of Narumatai, her mother receives him and offers him a seat. On hearing about the wish of Utayaṇan, she says that it is really an honour to her daughter that Utayaṇan has taken a liking for her. She adds that though she also would like very much to have Utayaṇan as her son-in-low, he has not favoured them fully (as he has not come in person). Vayantakan impresses her by his conversation about the future benefits that she would have and about the good qualities of Utayaṇan. Though the mother of Narumatai agrees to the proposal, Narumatai herself does not. She is in love with a weaver who has no education and little intelligence, who speaks false and harsh words, wears dirty cloths, and is generous to gamblers. Just when Vayantakan is engaged in conversation with the mother of Narumatai, the weaver arrives at the house of Narumatai. The moment she learns this, Narumatai runs to greet him disregarding her mother's instruction to her to attend to the

43. The *Cilappatikaram* gives a full account of the practice of awarding the Talaikkōl to courtesans. *Cilappatikaram* 3 : 161.

According to *Cuttananatappirakacapparatanūl*, a treatise on Bharatanāṭya called *Suddhanandaprakaśa* quoted by Saminatha Iyer, Jayanta, the son of Indra and Ūrvasī were cursed together for their amorous misconduct, by Agastya during a dance performance by Ūrvaśī in the celestial court. Jayanta was reborn as a bamboo in the Vindhya forest and Ūrvaśī, as a dancing girl on the earth. Talaikkōl is a bamboo stick worshipped as a manifestation of Jayanta.
See *Cilappatikaram*. 3 : 114-128.

business for which the visitor (Vayantakaṉ) has come. Her friends also advise her saying that courtesans are not supposed to lead a conventional domestic life. They should leave off al attachments and should be like the goddess of wealth who leaves a person when his merits are exhausted. Narumatai does not listen to any of these words and her mother asks Vayantakaṉ to carry her away by force. He in turn forces her to get into a carriage and drives through the bazaar towards the residence of Utayaṇaṉ. She cries out to the people to witness the cruelty of the king of the Vattava country. Some people criticise Narumatai and others speak ill of Utayaṇaṉ; but the outcome of all this is that Utayaṇaṉ succeds in spreading a rumour about his passion for Narumatai in order to divert the attention of the people from the real cause of the symptoms of love on his body. After keeping Narumatai with him for the whole night Utayaṇaṉ sends her back to her residence and thus accepts a blemish on his own character for the sake of Vācavatattai.

It is noteworthy that this episode is not found in other known versions of the story of Udayana. A similar incident occurs in the *Yaśastilaka* [44], which is based on a well known Jaina tale. There is room to believe that like many other similar tales in Jaina narrative literature, this episode might have been inspired by an incident which was narrated in the *Bk*.

6. Vācavatattai's love revealed to Utayaṇaṉ by Cāṅkiyattāy[45].

The information about the involvement of Utayaṇaṉ with Narumatai reaches the ears of Piraccōtaṉaṉ who simply chuckles

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44. Somadevasūri, *Yaśastilaka* ed. by Pandit Sivadatta and Kasinath Pandurang Parab. Kāvyamāla series. No. 70 (Bombay, 1970) pp. 40 ff.

45. Cāṅkiyattay means 'the Sāṅkhya mother'. In the Kashmerian versions we hear of one Sāṅkṛtyāyanī who pacifies Vāsavadattā when she is angry with Udayana about his affair with a maiden named Bandhumatī. Here she is referred to as a nun who had come from the household of Pradyōta. *Kss*. II : 6 : 71 - 74. The plays Priyadarśikā, Act IV and Tāpasavatsarāja-carita, Prelude to Act. III also contain references about Sāṅkṛtyāyanī.

over it reflecting that it is just the way of youth. He sends many gifts to honour Narumatai and exempts her from taking part in festivals and from dance performances in the royal court.

In the mean time word about the attainments of Vācavatattai on the celeberated lute Kōṭapati spreads and many kings despatch messengers to Piraccōtaṉaṉ to seek her hand in marriage. Piraccōtaṉaṉ sends them back without committing himself.

The foster-mother of Vācavatattai, called Cāṅkiyattāy informs her about all these happenings. On learning the same, Vācavatattai bursts into tears and confides to Cāṅkiyattāy her feelings towards Utayaṇaṉ. In despair she tells her that if she is not able to secure him as her husband in this brith she would accomplish the same through penance in a future birth. Cāṅkiyattāy consoles her and goes to see Utayaṇaṉ in order to inform him about the princess' love for him.

She meets Utayaṇaṉ in a secluded spot, when he arrives as usual for the music lessons and introduces herself to him. Her narrative proceeds as follows[46].

Oh king, I am a brahmin lady from Kōcāmpi. When I was young, I was tried once in the courts of your father for leading a wayward life during the absence of my husband. For this mistake the king (Catāṉikaṉ) decided to punish me by smearing brick powder[47] over my body and drowning me in the river, Yamuṉai (Yamunā), with a pot of sand tied around my neck. The sound of the boat on which I was taken to be drowned and the shouts of the youngsters on the bank reached your ears from

46. *Pk.* 1 : 36 :149 - 286.

47. Atiyārkkunallār states in his commentary to *Cilappatikāram* (14 : 146) that it was customary to make a criminal carry bricks and go round the city. In the Maṇimēkalai (18. 33.) also Cittirāpati, the grand mother of Maṇimēkalai swears that if she is not able to rescue her from being a Buddhist nun she would carry bricks and go round the city. The punishment described here appears to be similar to this practice.

a distance, as you were there to enjoy sporting in the river with your elephant. Having learnt what was going on, you ordered your men to instruct the boatmen to bring the boat back to the river bank. It was when the boat men rowed the boat fast to wards the bank, that this scar was made on my forehead by the tip of the oar.

A soothsayer called Kōcikaṉ, who was near you at that time said that I should observe penance hence forth as I had lost my virtue soon after my husband's departure. But you silenced him and asked me what I would like to do. I replied that I wanted to perform penance in order to lead a better life in future. Hearing my words you honoured the soothsayer with flowers. The soothsayer further predicted that because I was then standing in the shade provided by the elephant, I would give up the life of penance and stay in the care of a king who had a huge army, as a caretaker for a princess.

Hearing her words Utayaṇaṉ remembers all the above incidents and that ever since he saw her (in the palace of Pradyota) he had a feeling that she was a lady of much merit and felt an affection for her which was inexplicable to him until then. Now he knows why he felt so.

Çāṅkiyattāy then proceeds to narrate to Utayaṇaṉ all the incidents which took place in her life since her last meeting with him. "In order to continue the good course of life which started thanks to your intervention in my life, I decided to leave your country and went along the bank of the river Yamuṉai. I reached a country on the banks of the Ganges (Keṅkai) and from there proceeded with a group of diamond merchants towards north. On the way I met an ascetic who was well versed in Sāṅkhya philosophy and I became his follower. I lived in the Himalayas for two years as his disciple and obtained instruction from him in the six systems of philosophy. Later, when he travelled towards the South in order to bathe in the Cape Comarin I accompanied him. On our way we stayed in a monastry of the Kapālikas inside the Mahākāla forest in Uccayiṉi. According to the wish of the king a philosophical debate took place there among the exponents of the six systems of philosophy. In the discussion

initiated by a monk called Pālakaṉ, my teacher established the superiority of the Sāṅkhya system over the other five systems. Being pleased over this incident the king (Piraccotaṉaṉ) requested my teacher to stay in Uccayiṉi. So the pilgrimage to Cape comarin had to be abandoned and we stayed in Uccayiṉi where I was asked to take up service with the queen (i. e. the mother of Vācavatattai) who was interested in the Saṅkhya philosophy which her forefathers had followed. Vācavatattai who was a small baby at that time thus came to be under my care since then. I have now decided to take up a life of penance soon after Vācavatattai is married".

After narrating the story of her own life in these words, Cāṅkiyattāy tells Utayaṉaṉ that since he is reputed to be a man of firm character the fact that he is after a courtesan (Narumatai) is causing much perplexity to every one. Utayaṉaṉ, though hesitant to reveal the truth behind that incident to Cāṅkiyattāy, finally tells her the real cause of his affliction. Then Cāṅkiyattāy informs Utayaṉaṉ about Vācavatattai's love for him and asks him to think of the steps for marrying her as soon as possible.

She then goes back to Vācavatattai and sends Kāñcaṉamālai, a companion of the princess, with the message that Utayaṉaṉ might go back home as the time for the lessons for that day is over. Soon aferwards Utayaṉaṉ declares (to the king) that Vācavatattai has attained proficiency in playing on the lute and that the princes (Pālakaṉ and Kōpalakaṉ) have also attained mastery over various skills like riding an elephant, driving a chariot, riding a horse, arranging an army, judicial affairs etc. He sends word to Vācavatattai to prepare herself to demonstrate her proficiency in playing on the lute before the king in the court.

7. Piraccōtaṉaṉ decides to hold a festival to exhibit the talents of his sons in warfare and Vācavatattai in music.[48]

An announcement is made by Piraccōtaṉaṉ that Utayaṉaṉ is going to demonstrate in public what the princes have learnt from

48. *Pk.* 1 : 37.

him. At the appointed time the king arrives at the courtyard of his palace and sits beneath a canopy. Utayaṉaṉ makes the princes recite their lessons in metrical form and explain their meaning. Then he leads them into the practising ground.

After making the offerings to the deities who reside within the weapons, the princes bend their bows into a semicircular form like the crescent moon on the eigth day of a fortnight and demonstrate thirty two types of defences and sixteen ways of wielding the bow. Then they display the various movements which a warrior has to make in a battle, the method of wearing the quiver, fencing, holding the shield and warding off the enemies, whirling the lance, reaching a secure spot in a difficult moment during a battle, attaching oneself to the enemy, attacking him and mixing among the enemies by deceit, the various arrays of the infantry, defensive and offensive tactics against weapons and the method of encircling soldiers either alone or with one's own army. They then demonstrate their mastery in riding a horse, driving a chariot and riding an elephant. While doing so, they also show their skil in archery, by arming their arrows at a target which is thin as a thread.

The courtiers are full of praise for Utayaṉaṉ and observe that the princes have now become unrivalled. The king feels happy and thinks that no reward given to Utayaṉaṉ, other than sending him back to his own country and arranging for his marriage there would be sufficient. After sending Utayaṉaṉ back to his residence the king goes to the harem and informs his queen that his sons have now become masters of all the disciplines. At that very moment there arrives a messenger from Utayaṉaṉ to inform the king that Vācavatattai has also completed her lessons on the lute and arrangements should be made to demonstrate her proficiency in the royal court. The king who agrees to the proposal sends for the dancers, singers and troops of actors belonging to the palace. The experts assemble at the court-yard of the palace, accompanied by specialists in the various

instruments such as the lute, the flute the Ciṟupaṟai (small drum) the taṇṇumai, the muḻavu, and the Pāṇṭil[49].

Vācavatattai enters the stage after her foster-mother announces to the audience that Vācavatattai pays her respects to them all ; she plays on her lute in all the five kinds of movements without fault. She displays her mastery of the four Paṇs, and the seven Pālais with all their twenty one variations. Later she also sings, modulating her voice suitably without making any mistakes in the musical syllables and without changing the pitch. At the end she is applauded by every one including her father.

Piraccōtaṉaṉ then goes to the royal court accompained by Utayaṇaṉ and addresess his ministers as follows : "I have destroyed the glory of the family of Utayaṇaṉ in order to strengthen my own family. It is our duty now to find ways and means for installing him back in his kingdom". He also proclaims that henceforward the cities of Uccayiṉi and Kōcāmpi will cease to be inimical to each other. At the same time he despatches the following message to the king Āruṇi who is now occupying Kōcāmpi. "Eventhough I had sought earlier to destroy Utayaṇaṉ, I now want to strengthen his hands by my support. If you wish to be on our side, you should pay tribute and leave (the city of Kōcāmpi). Otherwise be prepared for a war in which our prince Pālakaṉ will accompany Utayaṇaṉ as his ally". He then orders that an army with commanders, soldiers, brahmins, elephants, horses, chariots, cows, bulls, dancing girls including Narumatai and led by Pālakaṉ should accompany Utayaṇaṉ to the Vatsa country on the very next day.

In the meantime Yūki decides[50] within himself that if Utayaṇaṉ goes to Kōcāmpi accompained by Pālakaṉ and others

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49. Ciṟupaṟai, Taṇṇumai and Muḻavu are instruments mad of leather which are used for keeping the time. See. Atiyārkkunallār, *Commentary to Cilappatikaram* 1 : 3 : 27. Pāṇṭil denotes a pair of cymbals; it appears to have got this name from its circular shape. For a smilar enumeration of musical instruments. See. *Malaipaṭukaṭām*. 1–11.

50. *Pk.* 1 : 43 : 5 – 74

as directed by the king the vow which he has made earlier that 'he will destroy Uccayiṉi, bring back Utayaṉaṉ, make Utayaṉaṉ abduct Vācavatattai without the[51] knowledge of Piraccōtaṉaṉ and marry her', will go unfulfilled. In order to prevent this, he summons a soothsayer woman called Pākīrati (Bhāgīrathī). He asks her to pretend as if she is under the effect of a trance, create fear in the minds of the citizens and then demand that a water festival must be celebrated in the city.

Pākīrati accordingly appears in the city and pretends as if she is possed by an evil spirit. She announces to them that the god (dess) who caused havoc and bloodshed in the city by causing the state elephant Naḷakiri to run amuck as a punishment for their omission to hold a water festival during the last year, was residing within her. Another sooth sayer-woman (Kaṭṭuvicci) accompained by other elderly women of the city asks Pākīrati the reason why the paddy grains on the winnowing fan did not show any auspicious omen[52]. Pākīrati performs a 'devil dance' and replies that if they do not celeberate the water festival this year also, the god (dess) within her will go that very day and getting inside the state elephant, destroy the city. The citzens inform the king about this incident. By his command the commander-in-chief proclaims that a water festival will be held on the next day and the people in the city prepare for the festival. Soon the whole city wears a festive look.

The author of the *Pk.* devotes the next five Kātais[53] for the description of the water festival. The preparations for the water festival, water-sports, the powders and scents used for bathing, the pastimes indulged in by the townsfolk, the various shops arranged on the banks of the pond are described in

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51. *Ukk.* V. 66
    Saminatha Iyer, *Utayaṉaṉ carittiraccurukkam*, p. 12.
52. 'Kaṭṭuccollal' is to predict the future events. Soothsayer women use paddy grains on the winnowing fan to make such predictions see. also *Naṟṟiṇai*, 1st edition (published by Aruna publications, Madras, 1968). v. 288 : 5-7.
53. *Pk.* 1 : 38-42

detailed and exquisite manner. It is not an exaggeration to say that these sections are a treasure house of information about the customs relating to water festival in Ancient India. The king gives away twenty elephants, eight horses, fifty chariots and a large amount of gold as donation on this occasion. He also offers thousand golden lotuses to the temple of goddess Lakṣmi.

None of the incidents described in this section is found in any other work dealing with the Udayana legends. However, as we have already noticed,[54] the training received by the sons of Pradyota at the hands of Udayana is alluded to in the *Bkss*. There are certain points of similarity between the version of the *Pk.* and the account found in the *Pratigñāyaugandharāyaṇa* of Bhāsa. These will be dealt with at the end of next section.

8. The elopment of Utayaṇaṉ with Vācavatattai and their wedding.

The plan of Yūki for rendering the city of Uccayiṉi desolate and for diverting the attention of every one in the city at the time of the abduction of Vācavatattai materialises without any hitch. King Piraccōtaṉaṉ, who suspects nothing, also orders that none of his men except his bodyguards should carry any weapons during the water festival. Yūki has also employed some women to set fire to different parts of the city on receiving a signal from him. He wants Utayaṇaṉ to flee from the city with Vācavatattai on the back of the elephant, Pattirāpati, unnoticed in the din of the festivities and the confusion caused by the sight of the fire in the city. He has also thought of the possibility that the elephant may die out of exhaustion during the long journey across the territory of Piraccōtaṉaṉ. By bribing the tribal people of the forests in the outskirts of the kingdom, he has already prepared them to offer Utayaṇaṉ shelter and safe passage across the mountainous terrain, if the need for it arose.

All of a sudden, during the festivities a storm strikes. Just at that moment the city is set on fire by the women employed by

54. *Infra*. p. 56.

Yūki, while his men emerge, as if from nowhere, hailing Utayaṇaṉ. King Piraccōtaṉaṉ who catches sight of the fire asks Utayaṇaṉ to conduct Vācavatattai to a place of safety on the back of the elephant, Pattirāpati. Yūki in the meantime conveys to Utayaṇaṉ his well laid out plan for the latter's escape from Uccayiṉi. Utayaṇaṉ accepts the proposal and leads the elephant away from the city. Seeing this, some of the warriors of Piraccōtaṉaṉ offer battle to him at the last moment and are easily overpowered. Utayaṇaṉ escapes along with Vācavatattai, Kāñcaṉamālai and Vayantakaṉ.

Utayaṇaṉ who climbs on the back of the elephant Pattirāpati along with Vācavatattai, Kāñcaṉamālāī and Vayantakaṉ (Vasantaka) could travel only two 'Kāvatams' before sunset. The elephant then speeds across fields (marutam) over a distance. of one hundred and twenty five 'ellais' before nearing the town called 'Aruṭṭam' around dinner time. At this point Vayantakaṉ informs him about two alternative routes on either side of the town. He advises Utayaṇaṉ to take the road to the north of the town since the other one is not a good one. They then travel along this road, taking care to stay far enough from the town so that no one would hear the footsteps of the elephant. They cross a stretch of forest land (Mullai) of another one hnndred and twenty five ellais well within the first part (Yāma) of the night. From there they have to journey through hilly tracts (Kuṟiñci) for another one hundred and twenty five ellais and finally reach the river Narumatai (Narmadā) by midnight. Vayantakaṉ looks for a ford where they can cross the river and having crossed it, the party arrive at arid region (Pālai). Thinking that it would be best to cross the hot desert region during the cool night, Utayaṇaṉ speeds along for another one hundred and twenty five ellais. On the way, the celestial lute of Utayaṇaṉ, the Kōṭapati is caught in the branch of a tree and falls off. He disregards it and travel on. But then the elephant, Pattirāpati is exhausted by the journey and dies in the middle of the desert tract. Utayaṇaṉ then asks Vayantakaṉ to go and fetch help from Iṭapakaṉ who is living in the near by city of Puṭpakam (Puṣpaka). Having sent him away, he is accosted by a horde of 'Caparar' (Śabaras) and Puḷiñar (Pulindas), hunters living in

the Vindhya forests. They are on the point of killing him when Vayantakaṉ return with the warriors of Iṭapakaṉ who chase the hunters away. They then rest there for a while and afterwards travel on to reach the city of Cayanti (Jayantī.) There Urumaṇṇuvā receives them. The wedding of Utayaṇaṉ with Vācavatattai is performed there with ceremonial rites.

We are now in a position to compare the contents of the text of the *Pk.* and other available versions of the Udayana story since the time of his capture by Pradyota until his marriage with Vāsavadattā. Eventhough according to both the Sanskrit tradition and the *Pk.*, the idea of Udayana taking revenge on Pradyota by abducting his daughter and marrying her is the same, the way this is carried out is described in a different manner. In particular, it must be said that we come to know a lot of details about all the events which took place in Ujjaynī during this time from the *Pk.* According to the *Kss.* Yaugandharāyaṇa, who is informed of his master's capture by Mahāsena's warriors, swears that he would avenge this act of the king of Ujjayinī. Handing over the charge of the state affairs to Rumaṇvān, he sets out with Vasantaka to Ujjayinī, disguising himself as an ugly looking hunch backed beggar. Vasantaka also transforms himself into an unsightly lunatic. They manage to find out the whereabouts of Udayana in Ujjayinī and establish connections with him by getting Vasantaka admitted into the apartment of Vāsavadattā as a poor brahmin clown. Yaugandharāyaṇa resorts the magic arts in order to appear before Udayana unobserved by others. He then bribes the keeper of the elephant Bhadrāvatī and work out the plan for the elopment of Udayana with Vāsavadattā. This is accordingly carried out and we hear nothing at all about the intoxicated wild behaviour of Nalagiri, exonaration of Udayana, the Narmadā episode, the role of Sāṅkṛtyāyanī in the development of the love affair between Udayana and Vāsavadattā, the water festival and all subsequent events.

We do hear of the death of Bhadrāvatī on the way during the flight of Udayana from Ujjayinī and about how Udayana is saved by a hunter ally whose favours had already been won over by Yaugandharāyaṇa. By then Gopālaka arrives in the Vindhya

forests where they were camping, conveys to Udayana and Vāsavadattā the approval of Mahāsena for their marriage and actually gives away Vāsavadattā in marriage to Udayana at Kauśāmbī.

There are many obvious differences between the above narrative and the details of the *Pk.* version. In the *Pk.*, we are told that even though Piraccōtaṉaṉ himself was already prepared to assist Utayaṉaṉ to get back his lost kingdom from Āruṇi, Yūki did not accept this situation as he was still smarting under the pain of humiliation inflicted on his master by Piraccōtaṉaṉ and wanted to avenge the same. It is he who therefore causes the water festival to be arranged by Piraccōtaṉaṉ and plans all the subsequent details of the kidnapping of Vācavatattai by Utayaṉaṉ and has them carried out, just as he had earlier got Utayaṉaṉ free from the prison by causing the elephant Naḷakiri to become intoxicated. In all these details, except for the Narumatai episode and the role of Cāṅkiyattāy, the *Pk.* version appears to agree more closely with the play Pratigñāyaugandharāyaṇa of Bhāsa than with the Kashmerian versions. This correspondence is of much significance since it reinforces our contention that the author of the *Pk.* has followed an ancient, relatively uncorrupted version of the Udayana story as found in the original *Bk.*

9. The marriage of Utayaṉaṉ with Vācavatattai and the strategem of Yūki to divert him from the pursuit of pleasures

The second canto, called the Ilāvāṇa kāṇṭam in the *Pk.* begins with the announcement of the proposed wedding of Utayaṉaṉ with Vācavatattai. The author devotes five Kātais[55] to the detailed description of the arrangements made therefor and how the marriage itself was celeberated with religious rites and festivities. Some ritualistic aspects of these descriptions will be

55. *Pk.* 2 : 1 - 5.

touched upon in the chapter on Jainism[56]. Finally, Utayaṇaṉ accompanies Vācavatattai to the temple of the Arhat and then goes in procession along the streets of the city of Cayanti (Jayantī) where the citizens hail them both.

The author then switches over to a nar·ation of what happened to Yūki in the meantime. After the escape of Utayaṇaṉ from Uccayiṉi, he goes round the streets of the city in disguise and learns that king Piraccōtaṉaṉ has actually been in favour of marrying Vācavatattai to Utayaṇaṉ and has therefore not reacted with his customary fury to the news of their elopement. He then summons all his followers from the various parts of the city to a monastery in the Mahākāla forest and orders them to go back to Kōcāmpi. After spending the rest of that day at that spot he repairs to the house of a potter who is loyal to Utayaṇaṉ and is a resident of the city. There he meets Cāṅkiyattāy by prior appointment and asks her to follow Utayaṇaṉ and Vācavatattai. Thereafter he goes and meets a Yavana chieftain who is known to him and gets a chariot made by him for his journey. Mounted on that chariot he leaves Uccayiṉi and proceeds to the city of Puṭpakam where his friend, Iṭapakaṉ is staying. After travelling four hundred and forty Kāvatams from Uccayiṉi, he finally arrives at the city of Puṭpakam and is received by Iṭapakaṉ. He informs Iṭapakaṉ of all the incidents which took place in Uccayiṉi after the capture of Utayaṇaṉ by Piraccōtaṉaṉ. Iṭapakaṉ in turn relates how he rescued Utayaṇaṉ, Vācavatattai and others from the hunters in the desert after the death of the elephant, Pattirāpati. He then tells Yūki that after his marriage with Vācavatattai, Utayaṇaṉ has been indulging in sensuous pleasures without any concern for any one else or for the serious political situation in the Vatsa kingdom which has been now usurped by the Pāñcāla king, Āruṇi. Yūki then decides that Utayaṇaṉ must be made to attend to the affairs of the state somehow. With this end in view he sends for Cāṅkiyattāy and explains to her that in the interests of his own welfare it has become necessary to separate Utayaṇaṉ from Vācavatattai. He suggests a plan by which Utayaṇaṉ will be made to believe that Vācavatattai has died in a fire which will

56. *Infra*. chapter VI.

be caused to break out in their residence and instructs her to conduct Vācavatattai to a place of safety through an underground passage. The foster-mother takes her instructions from Yūki and departs.

10. The 'death' of Yūki and the Viricikai episode.[57]

After giving instructions to Cāṅkiyattāy, Yūki spreads a rumour that he himself has been choked to death while eating rice flakes and vanishes from the place with the connivance of Iṭapakaṉ. Cāṅkiyattāy discloses their plan to Vācavatattai and persuades her to agree to it in the interests of her husband. Afterwards Cāṅkiyattāy goes to Utayaṇaṉ to inform him about the 'death' of Yūki. She hands over to him a portrait of Utayaṇaṉ in which one eye is shown to be damaged.

On seeing it, Utayaṇaṉ realises that something has gone wrong with Yūki and learns from her that Yūki is not to be found and is suspected to be dead. Utayaṇaṉ is immersed in sorrow and laments the untimely death of his dear friend. To console him his companions suggest that they go to the forest next to Ilāvāṇakam (Lāvāṇaka) to meet a sage there to ask about Yūki. So, all of them repair to Ilāvāṇakam where they encounter a sage who welcomes Utayaṇaṉ. He is offered a seat on the floor in the shade of an Aśoka tree. A white flower which Utayaṇan is holding in his hand falls down under his feet. The sage interprets the significance of this incident as follows : "As you are leaning on a green tree, it indicates that your friend is alive and will come back to you after some time. The falling of the white flower from your hand suggests that the luxurious life which you enjoy at present will be interrupted. But as the flower fell only under your feet it is certain that you will be able to lead the same kind of life again later on. As you are seated on the floor you will regain your kingdom". The sage also predicts that in his old age Utayaṇaṉ will listen to the preachings of the Cāraṇas.

From the hermitage Utayaṇaṉ goes to reside in a camp house in the Ilāvāṇaka forest. During his stay in the camp Utayaṇaṉ

57. *Pk.* 2 ; 6-16.

arrives one day at a spot where there are many hermitages. He is accompanied by Vācavatattai, her attendant, Kāñcanamālai, and Vayantakaṉ. While he sits on the slope of a hill, a girl called Viricikai comes there. She is the daughter of one of the ascetics living there who was formerly a king. She has not been acquainted with any men other than the hermits until then. Struck by the handsome appearance of Utayaṇaṉ, she thinks that he is none other than the god of love, Kāmaṉ, of whom she has heard so much in stories. She casts aside her doll and other playthings such as the ball, and approaches him with wonderment. She holds in her hands different kinds of flowers which she has plucked from the trees in the forest and requests Utayaṇaṉ to make a garland for her with those flowers. Utayaṇaṉ, who at first wonders whether she is the goddess of fortune dwelling in the hermitages, concludes later that she must be the daughter of one of the ascetics and makes her a garland. She does not know how to wear it properly and winds it around her hair in a haphazard manner. Utayaṇaṉ then makes her wear the garland properly. Vācavatattai who returns and sees them both flies into a rage but is soon calmed down when, out of fright caused by a monkey jumping from one tree to another, she hugs Utayaṇaṉ.

When Utayaṇaṉ is living in Ilāvaṇakam, Yūki constructs a tunnel from their palace in the city of Ilāvāṇakam to the camp in the forest and informs Urumaṇṇuvā and Vayatakaṉ about this. Cāṅkiyattāy goes to Utayaṇaṉ and tells him that they should go to live in the palace at Ilāvāṇakam as the place where they live at present is not free from the danger of wild animals. Listening to her suggestion Utayaṇaṉ goes and resides in the palace with Vācavatattai.

11. The fire in the palace at Ilāvāṇakam.

One day Vācavatattai asks Utayaṇaṉ to bring her a garland made of flowers and young tender stems, from the forest. To fulfil her wish, Utayaṇaṉ leaves for the forest. In the meantime the men employed by the ministers set fire to the palace.[58] Urumaṇṇuvā pushes two murderers who are under imprisonment into the fire. Their charred bodies are then identified as those of Vācavatattai and Cāṅkiyattāy.

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58. *Pk.* 2 : 17 : 55-84.

Cāṅkiyattāy and Vācavatattai escape through the tunnel and are met by Yūki who reassures Vācavatattai saying that every thing has been planned only for the good of Utayaṉaṉ and explains the political situation to her : "Listen, oh queen! When Utayaṉaṉ was captured by your father, his kingdom was occupied by Āruni, the king of Pāñcāla. His brothers, Piṅkalaṉ and Kaṭakaṉ, ran away out of fear. Utayaṉaṉ does not seem to mind all these things. He wants to spend all his time only with you. In order to help him regain his ancestral kingdom we have planned all this. Please cooperate with us in this matter."

Vācavatattai who believes that Yūki is no more, wonders who this person can be. Cāṅkiyattāy explains to her that he is indeed none other than Yūki and that the rumour which she has heard has been deliberately spread by their friends. Though Vācavatattai is sad about the fact that she will be separated from her husband, she addresses Yūki in the following words: "Oh, the one who secured the release of Utayaṉaṉ from captivity ! With your cleverness you may do whatever appears to be proper."

Utayaṉaṉ who returns from the forest observes bad omens on his way. As his horse proceeds towards the palace at Ilāvāṇakam he catches sight of a heavy cloud of smoke and gets worried. He sees Urumaṇṇuvā and Vayantakaṉ at the entrance of the palace looking worried along with Kāñcaṉamālai in great distress.

The moment he learns that his queen has been burnt to death he faints. His friends pick him up and console him, but he pays no heed to their words. The king insists on seeing the charred remains of Vācavatattai. Reluctantly his friends take him inside the harem and show him the charred bodies of the two murderers as well as the jewels belonging to Vācavatattai which have been already strewn by them near those bodies. Utayaṉaṉ is now convinced that Vācavatattai is dead and is plunged in deep sorrow.

Yūki in the meantime goes to a hermitage where the father of Urumaṇṇuvā lives. He is accompanied by Cāṅkiyattāy and Vācavatattai and stays there for fear of others identifying them.

When they go out they change their appearance with medicinal herbs which can bring about a change in the complexion. Urumaṇṇuvā in the meantime discloses the real state of affairs to Kāñcaṉamālai and sends her also to Vācavatattai so that she may attend upon her as usual. After a few days, thinking that they may be recognised by others, all of them leave for Caṉpai (Campā) the capital city of king Vicayavaraṉ (Vijayavara) who belongs to Ukkira kula (Ugra) Dynasty, and is a friend of the father of Urumaṇṇuvā. There they dwell in a house of a merchant called Mittirakāmaṉ (Mitrakāma).

The Kashmerian versions deal with the Lāvāṇaka episode in a similar manner, though not in detail. We are informed that Udayana devotes himself solely to the pursuit of marital pleasures in the company of Vācavadattā and his ministers, who want to retrieve the lost kingdom of the Vatsas, wish to secure the alliance of king Pradyota of Magadha for Udayana. Except the Kashmerian works, no other work gives the name of the king of Magadha as Pradyota and it is clear that the name given by the *Pk.* is the correct one. To induce the Magadha king to offer the hand of his daughter (not sister as in the other works, or cousin-sister as in the *Pk.*), Padmāvatī to Udayana in marriage, it becomes necessary to remove Vācavadattā from the scene. This necessitates the fire accident in Lāvāṇaka, a hamlet at the outskirts of the Vatsa kingdom and adjoining the Magadha country. We are told that the son of Mahāsena, Gopālaka, also acts as an accomplice of Yaugandharāyaṇa and others in their plot to hide Vācavadattā from the eyes of every one concerned. As is customary with the Kashmerian authors, the supernatural element is introduced, somewhat unnecessarily, by bringing in sage Nārada who predicts to Udayana before the outbreak of fire in Lāvāṇaka that his sufferings in the near future will ultimately end in happiness for him.

Yaugandharāyaṇa who spirits away Vācavadattā from Lāvāṇaka, accompanied by Vasantaka, assumes the form of an old brahmin and transforms them both into a brahmin woman and a brahmin pupil respectively. He then takes them to the apartment of Padmāvatī, the daughter of the king of Magadha

and introduces Vācāvadattā to her by the name Avantikā and Vasantaka by the name Priyamvada. Having left them in her custody he goes back to Lāvāṇaka where the fire is caused to break out immediately thereafter. Thus it is not given out in these works that Yaugandharāyaṇa himself, is 'dead'. Since the one impediment to the marriage of Udayana with Padmāvātī, i.e. Vāsavadattā, has been thus removed, the king of Magadha himself comes forward to offer his daughter as bride for Udayana

There is no counterpart in the Kashmerian works or anywhere else to the Viricikai episode which took place during the sojourn of Udayana in the Lāvāṇaka forest according to the *Pk.* But there are good grounds to believe that this episode was indeed found in the original *Bk*. We may infer this from a detailed comparison of the above episode occurring in the *Pk.* with some of the Paiśācī passages quoted by Hemacandra, presumably taken out of the original *Bk*. We have dealt with this question in detail elsewhere.[59]

Two plays of Bhāsa, viz. the *Svapnavāsavadatta* and the *Tāpasavatsarājacarita*, also deal with all the incidents mentioned above in the *Pk.* Here the name of the Magadha king is given as Darśaka and Padmāvatī is said to be his sister. In both of these plays Yaugandharāyaṇa is also supposed to have been burnt up along with Vāsavadattā in the fire in Lāvāṇaka. It is thus clear that the versions of the plays of Bhāsa[60] are more in agreement with that of the *Pk.* than the versions of the Kashmerian works.

12. The encounter with Patumāpati.

As already noted in chapter one, in the Makatakāṇṭam of the *Pk.* the later part of the tenth Kātai, the whole of the eleventh

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59. Vijayalakshmy. R. '*The Tamil Peruṅkatai and its relationship to the Bṛhatkatha*', 1. *The Viricikai episode*. (In press). Indo Iranian Journal, (Holland, 1981).

60. Svapnavāsavadattā. Act. I.
Nīti Adaval. *Op. cit.* pp. 109,110.

kātai, the lines at the beginning of the twelfth kātai, the later part of the sixteenth kātai and the beginning of the seventeenth kātai are missing. The canto starts with a description of the sad plight of Utayaṇan̲ after the supposed death of his minister, Yūki, and later, of his queen Vācavatattai, and the old nurse Cāṅkiyattāy, in the fire which took place in his palace at the Ilāvāṇaka forest. This is however only a plot contrived by his friends who now want to drive away Āruṇi, the king of Pāñcāla who has occupied Kōcāmpi in the absence of Utayaṇan̲. For this purpose Urumaṇṇuvā and others want that the cousin sister of king Tarucakan̲ (Darśaka) of Makatam (Magadha), Patumāpati by name, should be married to Utayaṇan̲ so that the alliance of Tarucakan̲, the powerful king of Makatam could be secured for him. They accordingly manage to take him to the city of Irācakiri (Rājagiri) by persuading the king that an ascetic named Kākatuṇtan̲ who is there, might be able to bring the dead queen, Vācavatattai, back to life. They reach Irācakiri disguised as brahmins, along with a small army to help them in the event of an emergency.

The ascetic, Kākatuṇṭan̲,[61] has been already informed of what the ministers of Utayaṇan̲ have told the king. At their request he assures Utayaṇan̲ that he would indeed get back Vācavatattai in two months' time if he would, in the meantime, observe a fast, without grieving over her loss. While Utayaṇan̲ awaits the good day, the festival of Kāman̲ (Kāma) is held in the outskirts of the city at the behest of king Tarucakan̲. Princess Patumāpati visits the Kāman̲ temple on the first day of the festival. Utayaṇan̲ sees her on the way and they both fall in love with each other immediately.

At the temple, Patumāpati gets down from her carriage and offers donations to the poor people after her worship. She instructs the elderly watchmen guarding her not to obstruct any brahmins who may want to get inside the temple in order to receive gifts from her. In the meantime a lady sings a song wishing that Patumāpati may obtain a husband who is like the

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61. *Pk.* 2 : 4 : 70 ff.

celebrated Utayaṉaṉ. After finishing the rituals of the day Patumāpati leaves the temple and goes to her palace with her maids. After her departure some of the maids announce that there will be donations made by Patumāpati every day until the end of the festival. On hearing this Utayaṉaṉ consoles himself thinking that he can see Patumāpati again. In the meantime there comes Ayirāpati (Airāva.ı), a friend of Patumāpati, whom Utayaṉaṉ enquires about Patumāpati. She informs him that Patumāpati is the daughter of Utayaiyōṭai, the wife of the king of Kāci (Kāśi) and the sister of Civamati (Śivamatı), who is the queen of tne Magadha country. In reply to her questions, he tells her that his name is Māṇakaṉ, and that he is the son of one Cāṇṭiyaṉ, a brahmin belonging to Irattinapuram (Ratnapura) of the Kāntāra (Gāndhāra) country.

In the night both Utayaṉaṉ and Patumāpati suffer from the pangs of love. In this way a few days pass and every day both of them see each other regularly. One day Patumāpati throws her arm around the shoulder of Ayırāvati and stands on a terrace while Utayaṉaṉ is watching her. On seeing this, Utayaṉaṉ also throws his arm around the shoulder of his friend, Vayantakaṉ and with his other hand, plays with a ball of flowers. Having thus come to know that her feelings are reciprocated by him, Patumāpati finds out from Ayirāpati the details of his identity. She then asks her to go and obtain the flower ball from Utayaṉaṉ. Ayirāpati gestures to Utayaṉaṉ and communicates the wish of Patumāpati to him. Utayaṉaṉ who is now convinced of the attitude of Patumāpati towards him informs his friends about the same but they do not believe him.

To convince them he says that he will make a garland of leaves (Kaṇṇi) and suspend it from the branch of a tree at a spot where Patumāpati can see it. If she took it, that would show her love for him. He does accordingly and Patumāpati who comes there after her bath takes it, wears it and also leaves another garland in its place for Utayaṉaṉ to pick up ![62]

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62. See chapter. II. *Supra* p. 50

In this manner Utayaṉaṉ convinces his friends about the goings-on between both of them. He dreams of Vācavatattai during the same night and she appears to be angry with him because of his love for Patumāpati. He wakes up and relates this also to his friends who suggest that Vācavatattai might be angry because of his love for Patumāpati. He is however undeterred in his desire for Patumāpati and consults them about the means by which he would be able to meet her.[63] He suggests the plan of getting into the temple of Kāmaṉ when she would arrive there for worship. His friends warn him that if he went there to meet her he would be caught by the guards. Utayaṉaṉ replies that the old guards who had walked a long distance carrying Patumāpati in the hot sun would not be able to see him. He then starts describing to his friends the noble qualities and the beauty of Patumāpati. Unfortunately at this point the available portion of the tenth kātai abruptly ends without giving the reader a chance to read the whole description. Following this, as we have stated earlier, the whole of the eleventh kātai and the beginning of the twelfth kātai are missing.

13. The reconstruction of the contents of the missing portions in the Makatakāṇṭam.

In an effort to reconstruct these portions we may examine the *Ukk.* and the *Uc.* In the *Uc.*, the chapter on the marriage of Uditodaya with Padmā, the daughter of King Darśanīka, is very brief. Upto his arrival in the outskirts of Rājagiri, the incidents described are the same as in the *Pk.* But there is no mention of the Kāma festival and we are simply told of the arrival of Padmā with her friends in the city garden where Udayana sees her and is struck by her beauty. He then persuades her to marry him according to the Gāndharva rites.

In the *Ukk.* also the narration of this episode is very brief. Upto the meeting of Utayaṉaṉ with Patumāpati on the way to the Kāmaṉ temple, the account is identical with the main incidents in the *Pk.* but brief. In both the *Uc.* and the *Ukk.*

63. *Pk.* 3 : 10 : 20. ff.

the incident in the garden in which Utayaṉaṉ and Patumāpati exchange garlands does not occur.

We are thus left with no other alternative except to reconstruct the probable contents of the missing portions in the *Pk.*, from subsequent allusions which occur in the text of the *Pk.* itself. We find one such reference in the kātai, "Kōyil Oṭuṅkiyatu"[64], to the strategem by which Utayaṉaṉ is smuggled into the harem by Patumāpati in collusion with Yāppiyāyiṉi. We understand that this was already arranged between them. We are also told that Utayaṉaṉ goes to the Kāmaṉ temple and remains hidden there as before.[65] Thus the portion of the text in which Utayaṉaṉ meets Patumāpati alone in the Kāmaṉ temple for the first time secretly, must have occurred in the gap between the kātais ten and thirteen. In particular it is probable that this meeting formed the content of kātai eleven, as the available portion of kātai twelve tells us how the ministers of Utayaṉaṉ get into the palace of Tarucakaṉ. This clandestine meeting took place perhaps with the knowledge and the help of Yāppiyāyiṉi, the girl friend of Patumāpati. She is introduced for the first time in kātai ten where she teases Patumāpati in the garden for her altered appearence after exchanging the garland with Utayaṉaṉ in the garden. But in the thirteenth kātai we find her actively assisting the young lovers in the strategem to smuggle Utayaṉaṉ into the harem. She sends away everyone else with the excuse that Patumāpati who had been fasting all along has a fever and so should be left alone.[66] She also instructs the palanquin bearers to bring the palanquin right near the entrance to the temple. Inside the apartment of Patumāpati she also goes round the place and makes sure that no one is observing them before letting Patumāpati and Utayaṉaṉ get out of the palanquin.

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64. *Ukk.* 3 : 157, 158, 159, 160.
    Pk. 3 : 13.

65. "..

    muṉai ven tuppin maṉṉaṉu muṉ pōl
    puṉai vakai maṭam pukku maraint iruttaliṉ
    ...." *Pk.* 3 : 13 : 3 – 4.

66. *Ibid.* 3 : 13 : 38 – 39

Our inference about the probable contents of kātai eleven is supported by the mention in the *Uc.* of the gāndharva marriage between Uditodaya and Padmā in the garden and not in the apartment of the latter. All these incidents are summarised in the following verse of the *Ukk.*[67]

Yāppiyāyiṉiyāḷ eṉṉum
avaḷuṭait tōḻi ceṉṟu
nāp pukaḻ maṉṉark kaṇṭu
nalam piṟav uraittuk kūṭṭak
kāppuṭaip patumaiy ōṭuṅ
kāvalaṉ kalantu poṉṉiṉ
Cippiṭak kaṇ civakkuṅ
cir maṅkaiy nalam uṇṭāṉ

(Her (Patumāpati's) friend called Yāppiyāyiṉi went to the king (Utayaṇaṉ) and brought them together. It was thus that he enjoyed Patumāpati whose eyes get reddened even if she put her golden comb in her hair).

We understand that this meeting took place in the Kāmaṉ temple from the following first line of the next verse:

eḻil peṟu kāmak kōṭṭatt
iyaṟkaiyiṟ puṇarntu vantu
.....................................[68]

(after uniting (with Patumāpati) in the beautiful temple of Kāmaṉ.........

A reference to this clandestine meeting occurs later in the *Pk.* itself in the chapter "Iravu eḻuntatu"[69]. Here Urumaṇṇuvā tells Utayṇaṉ that king Tarucakaṉ might be persuaded to give Patumāpati in marriage to Utayaṇaṉ if they told him of what had happened (between Utayaṇaṉ and Patumāpati) in the garden. The reference here cannot be to the exchange of garlands between them in the garden; it must be a reference to a clandestine union.

67. *Ukk.* v. 158
68. *Ibid.* 159.
69. *Pk.* 3 : 17 : 96.

The above incidents are followed by kātai twelve which has the title "Amāttiyar Oṭuṅkiyatu". i.e. how the ministers went into hiding. The beginning of this kātai is missing. From the available portion we understand that a person (who is not mentioned by his name) approaches the guard of the palace of the king Tarucakaṉ and asks him what would please the king most[70]. The guard tells him that the king would be very happy if some one would help him in finding out the place where his father had buried his wealth. This person then meets the king and shows him the site of the treasure. The king who is much pleased, asks him to stay inside the palace and provides for his expenses. Later this person also identifies the spot where good water might be found in the premises of the palace.

The identity of the person referred to here is not clear from the text itself. U. V. Saminatha Iyer identifies this person as Utayaṇaṉ[71]. When we refer to the *Uc.* in this context we find it is stated that a sage predicts to king Darśanīka that the person destined to marry his daughter would come to him and help him to locate the buried treasure in his palace. Having come to know of this prediction, Kurumāṉyan (Urumaṇṇuvā) under the order of Uditodaya, shows the king the treasure spot. He then honours Kurumānyan and having come to know of the mutual love between Padmā and Uditodaya, give her in marriage to him[72].

In the *Ukk.* We find that the sequence of the story is somewhat different from that in the *Pk.* After the clandestine meeting with Patumāpati in the Kāmaṉ temple Utayaṇaṉ informs his friends of his gāndharva marriage with her. Having obtained their consent to his liaision with Patumāpati he gets into a palanquin and stealthily enters the apartment of Patumāpati with her. While he remains hidden there he shows Patumāpati his proficiency on the lute. Urumaṇṇuvā tells his collegues that just as Yūki had

70. *Ibid.* 3 : 12.

71. Saminatha Iyer, *Utayaṇaṉ Carittiraccurukkam*, 8th edition, (Madras, November 1963) pp. 118–20.

72. *Uc.* 3rd Pariccheda. vv. 164–171, manuscript from Mysore Oriental Institute.

earlier released their king from captivity in Uñcai (Ujjayinī) and returned home with the princess Vācavatattai, they should also secure the marriage of Patumāpati with Utayaṉaṉ. He then makes arrangements for his three hundred warriors to enter the palace of Tarucakaṉ in disguise. Tarucakaṉ in the meantime is on the look out for a person who would unearth the treasure left by his father. Urumaṇṇuvā then meets the king and shows the treasure to him. He thus secures the friendship of the king and remains in the palace[73].

yāṉ aṟint uraippaṉ eṉṟēy aracaṉaik kaṇṭu mikka
māniti kāṭṭi naṉmai makatavaṉōṭuṅ kūṭi
ūṉamil viccai taṉṉāl urumaṇṇu piritaliṉṟip
pāṉalaṅ kiḷavi taṉṉāṟ parivuṭaṉ irukku nāḷil[74]

(During the days when Urumaṇṇuvā spent his days happily in the company of the king of Magadha (Tarucakaṉ) by showing him the great treasure after promising him that he will show the king the spot where it lay hidden.)

Somasundaranar[75] in his commentary to the above verse has been misled by the identification of U. V. Saminatha Iyer and says that it is Utayaṉaṉ who went to reveal the site of the treasure to king Tarucakaṉ even though the verse itself states clearly that it was Urumaṇṇuvā.

The situation here is clarified by subsequent allusions found in the text of the *Pk.* itself. For example, the lines,

....
peru maṉ vēntaṉaip piḷaippiṉṟ ōmpuṭaṟk
urumaṇṇuvāvum uḷḷakatt oṭuṅka
....[76]

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73. *Ukk.* vv. 159 – 163.
74. *Ibid.* v. 163.
75. Somasundaranar. P. V. *Commentary to Ūtayaṉa-kumāra-kāviyam*, (Published by Saiva Siddhanta works Publishing Society, Tinnevely. Mar. 1964) v. 163.
76. *Pk.* 3 : 12 : *ll.* 80–81

(In order to protect the king (Utayaṇaṉ) without negligence, Urumaṇṇuvā went and confined himself within the palace.)

tell us explicity that the motive of Urumaṇṇuvā in getting inside the palace of Tarucakaṉ was to guard his master, Utayaṇaṉ. The exact manner in which Urumaṇṇuvā accomplished this would appear to be narrated in the lines immediately preceding this passage. He gains entry into the palace by winning the confidence of king Tarucakaṉ with the act of spotting out the site of the buried treasure. This interpretation is not only in line with the versions of the *Uc.* and the *Ukk.*, but also is in accord with the title of the chapter which is *'Amattiyar Oḷuṉkiyatu'* i. e. how the ministers of Utayaṇaṉ hid themselves (inside the palace). Soon after Urumaṇṇuvā gained entry into the palace, we are also informed in the *Pk.* that Vayaṇtakaṉ and Icaiccaṉ (a brahmin friend of Utayaṇaṉ who accompanied him to Irācakiri) also got into the palace on the pretext of doing some job.[77] The chapter then ends with the lines :

'āypukaḷ aracaṉaiy aṟṟappaṭāmaṟ
kāval purintaṉarāṟ kaṭi maṉaik karanteṉ'

(Thus, they protected the king of flawless fame with great alertness by hiding themselves in the well guarded palace).

In the later chapter *'Nalaṉārāycci'* again we find the following reference.

'..
tikaḷ maṇi mārpaṉ aka nakar oḷuṅkap
poruḷ puriy amaiccar puṟa nakar karappuḷi[78]
....'

(While Utayaṇaṉ confined himself in the inner apartment of Patumai his advisers hid themselves in the outskirts of the palace).

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77. *Pk.* 3 : 12 : 82 ff.

78. *Ibid.* 3 : 14 : 11 – 12.

The foregoing analysis makes it clear that soon after the incident of the exchange of their garlands in the garden adjoining the Kāmaṉ temple, Utayaṇaṉ and Patumāpati had a clandestine union which spurred him on to seek out ways of getting into the apartment of the princess by stealth. This necessitated his followers to adopt one way or the other to gain entry into the palace of Tarucakaṉ so that they might be at hand in case of any unforeseen emergency and danger to their master.

14. How Utayaṇaṉ gets into the apartment of Patumāpati.

Having arranged that his followers have placed themselves in different parts of the palace, Utayaṇaṉ proceeds to the Kāmaṉ temple as usual and remains hidden inside there. Patumāpati announces that since it was the last day of the festival she would be proceeding to the Kāmaṉ temple much earlier than usual and in order to enable her to proceed there unobserved in the day light, she summons her palanquin instead of her carriage. She reaches the temple and meets Utayaṇaṉ there. After she has finished donating gifts to all the people who have assembled there, Yāppiyāyiṉi asks all their companions to leave and orders the palanquin to be brought right at the entrance of the temple. They then let Utayaṇaṉ also get into it along with Patumāpati and thus take him inside the quarters of the princess without any one observing them.

During his stay inside the apartment of Patumāpāti, one day Utayaṇaṉ asks Yāppiyāyiṉi to draw him a sketch of the layout of the palace.[80] In this manner he manages to carry out a reconnaissance of the entire palace and assures himself that if by chance king Tarucakaṉ were to be antagonistic towards him, it would be easy enough for him to take over the control of the palace by force.

The author then describes how Utayaṇaṉ and Patumāpati enjoy themselves in each other's company inside the apartment of

79. *Ibid.* 3 : 13 ff.
80. *Ibid.* 3 : 14 : 14 ff.

the princess. This is followed by a description of how Utayaṇaṉ causes Patumāpati to become angry with him by allowing himself to be distracted by a portrait engraved in the bedstead and how he later pacifies her, taking advantage of the fright caused in her by the hooting of an owl. Another morning, Yāppiyāyiṉi goes to Utayaṇaṉ in accordance with the instructions of Patumāpati and tries to find out the various arts in which he is proficient. Utayaṇaṉ jocularly tells her that, besides acquiring mastery over the Vedas and its various Aṅgas, he has learnt to play on an instrument called Kuṭamuḻavu[81] in order to please his consort and remove her distress ; Yāppiyāyiṉi then brings the lute belonging to Patumāpati. Being unable to tune it, Patumāpati suggests that Utayaṇaṉ should do so. In spite of its nice external appearance, Utayaṇaṉ immediately detects the flaws in its construction but refrains from saying anything to them. Yāppiyāyiṉi however notices the expression on his face and realises that he is not a stranger to the art of music and to the art of playing on the lute. Upon their request Utayaṇaṉ then sings a song simultaneously playing on the lute and thus entertains them with his melodious music. Later, they bring him a lute which he rejects saying that it was made of a piece of dead wood. When offered another instrument, he discards its strings stating that they are overstrung by not being dried up properly. He rejects another set of strings also because they contained hair and sand and shows them that this was indeed the case by unwinding the strings. Finally he accepts another set of well made strings and plays on the lute. The princess and Yāppiyāyiṉi thus realise that he is a connoisseur of very high order in the matter of lutes and music.

15. The battles with the confederacy of kings who opposed king Tarucakaṉ[82].

During this time the king of the Kēkaya country by the name Accuvapperumakaṉ arrives at Irācakiri to ask for the hand of Patumāpati in marriage to him. While king Tarucakaṉ is

81. *Ibid.* 3 : 14 : 187.
Kuṭamuḻavu is a percussion instrument made of leather.

82. *Pk.* 3 : 17. ff.

engaged in receiving the Kēkaya king, some of his vassal kings decide to form a confederacy and overwhelm him in battle. Their names as given in the *Pk.* are as follows :

1. Viricikaṉ,
2. Eliccevi, the king of Attiṉāpuram,
3. Aṭavi, the king who protects the city of Vāraṇavāci,
4. The king of Ayōtti,
5. Milaiccaṉ, the king of Pōtaṉapuram,
6. the king Caṅkaraṉ of Tuvarāpat,
7. Mallaṉ, and
8. the king, Vēcāli.

Seeing in this situation an opportunity to win the favour of the king, Utayaṇaṉ and his allies devise the following strategem to overpower the enemy kings :

Urumaṇṇuvā climbs a hill adjoining the city called Ciṉṉaccōlai and with a coded tune, summons the warriors who used to fight on the side of Utayaṇaṉ in all wars. Together they go into the camp of the enemies and introduce themselves as merchants who have a lot of merchandise to sell and who would now like to extend their support to them out of their displeasure with Tarucakaṉ. Having won the confidence of the enemy kings with this lie, they suddenly pounce upon the soldiers of one of these kings in the middle of the night, hailing the name of another one among them in the meantime. The resulting confusion scares away all the enemies who think that one of them has betrayed the others. Urumaṇṇuvā and others finally return victorious to Irācakiri, hailing the name of Utayaṇaṉ, the king of Vatsas. This gives Utayaṇaṉ a chance to reveal his identity to Tarucakaṉ who welcomes him to his city with honours.

Soon afterwards the allied enemy kings who had retreated, take stock of the events which took place in their camp and by consultation among themselves, realise the deceitful behaviour of Utayaṇaṉ's men and their own folly in having readily accepted the merchants into their fold ; they then come back with the renewed resolve to attack the Magadhan capital. Utayaṇaṉ sends word through Vayantakaṉ to Tarucakaṉ that he would

be willing to lead the Magadhan army to victory against the foes in the battle, under the leadership of any one whom the king may depute as his own representative. Accuvapperumakan̲, the Kēkaya king, also offers to fight on behalf of the king and Tarucakan̲ accordingly sends forth his army with Utayaṇan̲, deputing the Kēkaya prince to represent him in the battle. The latter is killed in the gruesome fight that ensues; ultimately Utayaṇan̲ manages to vanquish the confederacy of the enemy kings.

The way is thus cleared for Tarucakan̲ to offer the hand of Patumāpati in marriage to Utayaṇan̲ himself[83]. The princess however does not realise that Utayaṇan̲ had actually assumed the name of Māṇakan̲ and been with her all along! She therefore grieves that she is being forced to marry some one other than her lover, viz. Māṇakan̲. In the meantime Utayaṇan̲ seeks from Tarucakan̲ a suitable bride for Icaiccan̲, and obtains his consent for the latter's marriage with Yāppiyāyiṉi, the companion of Pātumāpati At the time of her wedding Yāppiyāyiṉi who sees Utayaṇan̲, recognises him and realises that it was he who had come earlier in the guise of a brahmin named Māṇakan̲ to the apartment of Patumāpati. She conveys this to Patumāpati, along with a portrait of Utayaṇan̲ drawn by himself and a message conveying an incident which had taken place when Patumāpati had been alone with Māṇakan̲. This convinces Patumāpati about the identity of Māṇakan̲ and her wedding with Utayaṇan̲ takes place with pomp and ceremony.

16. The battle with Āruṇi and the Victory of Utayaṇan̲[84].

In the battle with the enemy kings of Magadha, Urumaṇṇuvā is taken captive during an encounter with the king, Eliccevi. Earlier, the brother of Eliccevi has also been captured by Utayaṇan̲. Soon after his wedding with Patumāpati, Utayaṇan̲ tells Tarucakan̲ that Urumaṇṇuvā has to be freed from the

83. *Ibid*, 3 : 21-22.

84. *Ibid*. 3 : 23 ff.

hands of the foes at the earliest opportunity. Tarucakaṉ then entrusts four of his ministers named Varuṭakāraṉ, T rakāri, Tarumaṭattaṉ, and Cattiyakāyaṉ along with a large contingent of forces to Utayaṇaṉ in order to assist him in recovering the lost territories of the Vatsa kingdom after vanquishing Āruṇi, the Pāñcāla king, and to free Urumaṇṇuvā from captivity. The brothers of Utayaṇaṉ, Piṅkalaṉ and Kaṭakaṉ, who have been biding their time, being unable to counter the onslaught of Āruṇi, also join Utayaṇaṉ in his campaign against the Pāñcāla king. At first, the minister named Varuṭakāraṉ advises Utayaṇaṉ to lay siege to the fortress of Kōcāmpi and, after penetrating the fortress of Kōcāmpi, surround the palace of Āruṇi by surprise in the middle of the night. This idea is however rejected by Utayaṇaṉ who is informed by his spies that Āruṇi has already come to know about his alliance with Tarucakaṉ and about his preparations for war against him. He is therefore well prepared to meet any surprise attack by Utayaṇaṉ who therefore asks Varuṭakāraṉ to go and join the king Āruṇi, pretending to be an emissary from king Tarucakaṉ, saying that the relations between Utayaṇaṉ and the king of Makatam have of late become strained. Accordingly, Varuṭakāraṉ gets introduced to Āruṇi through the son of one of his commanders. Āruṇi is taken in by this and sends four of his emissaries headed by one Cakuṉi Kaucikaṉ, to go and ascertain the situation regarding his foe, Utayaṇaṉ., from Varuṭakāraṉ. Varuṭakāraṉ leads the four men to a cave and informs Utayaṇaṉ of their movements through the minister named Tārakāri. Utayaṇaṉ despatches ten of his men headed by one Piṅkalacāramāṇi to capture the four men from Āruṇi and bring them to him. On their arrival, Iṭapakaṉ orders them to be killed by being pushed into the fire. Then they all blow their trumpets, set their huts on fire and run away from that spot to take shelter in a mountain called Tavaticayantam. Varuṭakāraṉ goes back feigning helplessness at the turn the events have taken and Āruṇi is informed of the mishap which has overtaken his men. Advised by Varuṭakāraṉ, Āruṇi then sets forth with some of his troops to offer battle to Utayaṇaṉ, stationinga large contingent to protect the palace. He is accompained by his commanders named Cāyaṉ, Kāntārakaṉ, Cūravaraṉ, Piramacēṉaṉ and his minister called Pūraṇakuṇṭalaṉ. He is then informed by some of Varuṭakāraṉ's

men that Utayaṉaṉ is hiding in the spot where the two rivers called Vañcakāntai and Kantavati join together, along with some hunters who owe their allegiance to Iṭapakaṉ. Egged on by Varuṭakāraṉ, Aruṇi goes out to lay siege to Utayaṉaṉ's hideout while information about all their planned movements is communicated by Varuṭakāraṉ to Utayaṉaṉ. Utayaṉaṉ stations his brothers, Kaṭakaṉ and Piṅkalaṉ with Iṭapakaṉ and Tarumatattaṉ, in the mountainous route and instructs them to beat a retreat before the forces of Āruṇi till the latter reached the centre of the mountainous region, so that Varuṭakāraṉ may be able to block their retreat with his own men, once they had reached that spot. Utayaṉaṉ then takes some of his men to a different hideout and awaits the arrival of the enemy. Āruṇi who advances towards the army of Utayaṉaṉ on the back of his royal elephant called Mantaram, sees a number of evil portents and is warned by his minister, Pūraṇakuṇṭalaṉ, to choose a more auspicious moment for his march towards the battlefront. Varuṭakāraṉ intercedes and convinces Āruṇi that the evil portents bode evil only for their enemies. Āruṇi accordingly proceeds to offer fight to Utayaṉaṉ. In the fierce battle which ensues Kāntārakaṉ is slain by Kaṭakaṉ and Piṅkalaṉ. The king Āruṇi himself is then killed by Tarumatattaṉ. Utayaṉaṉ proclaims his victory in the battle and soon the news of his victory is announced in the streets of Kōcāmpi.

It is clear from the foregoing account of sections ten to fifteen that regarding the incidents leading to the marriage of Udayana with Padamāvatī, his serving as an ally to king Darśaka of Magadha and his eventual victory over his enemy, Āruṇi, the *Pk.* is probably the only work available today which contains so many details. There is no scope for comparison of these details with the accounts found in any other work, since no other work containing a similar narrative has come to our notice so far. The question then naturally arises whether all these details were taken by Koṅkuvēḷir from the original *Bk*, or whether they were derived by him from some other source or whether it was all just a figment of the author's imagination. In chapter five we shall attempt to show that there does exist a factual basis for this account, even though we are unable to determine whether or not

such an account occurred in the *Bk.* of Guṇāḍhya. We are however inclined to believe that this was indeed the case.

17. The reign of Utayaṉaṉ as king of the Vattava country and the recovery of Kōṭapati, the celestial lute which had been lost.[85]

After ascending the throne of the Vattava kingdom, Utayaṉaṉ honours Varuṭakāraṉ, the minister of Tarucakaṉ. Koṅkuvēḷir devotes one kātai to describe the just rule of Utayaṉaṉ over his subjects.[86] Utayaṉaṉ then despatches some of his men to the spot where the elephant, Pattirāpati, gave up her life while carrying him and Vācavatattai at the time of their flight from Uccayiṉi. He orders them to recover any remains of the elephant from that spot. He also gets a sculptured image of the elephant installed at that spot and arranges for its worship and for donations to wayfarers who arrive there.

In the meantime a brahmin by name Aruñcukaṉ, who is well versed in the art of music and in playing on the lute, travels from Uccayiṉi towards Kōcāmpi. On the way he encounters a herd of elephants and in order to get out of their way, climbs up a tree. He sees the lute, Kōṭapati, stuck between the branches of a Vēṅkai (Pterocarpus Marsupium) tree and sees that the herd of elephants remain spellbound by the melodious tunes emanating from the lute as the wind blew and the branches of the tree touched its strings. After the elephants have departed, he gets hold of the lute and brings it to Kōcāmpi There he plays the paṉ called 'cevvaḷi' in his residence during an evening. The music attracts the attention of Utayaṉaṉ who is seated on the terrace of his palace. He immediately sends Vayantakaṉ to find out from where the music emanated. The brahmin is summoned before the king to whom he relates the manner in which he came to possess the instrument. Upon the king's request, he leaves it with him. Utayaṉaṉ, in turn honours him with the gift of a village in his kingdom.

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85. *Ibid.* 4 : 1-4.

86. *Ibid.* 4 : 2.

The sight of his beloved lute, Kōṭapati, makes Utayaṉaṉ pine for his sweetheart, Vācavatattai, who has vanished without a trace from his life. In the meantime, king Tarucakaṉ secures the release of Urumaṇṇuvā from captivity in the hands of king Eliccevi, in return for the release of the younger brother of the latter by name Cittirāṅkataṉ. Yūki, who comes to know this, sends a messenger named Cātakaṉ to Urumaṇṇuvā and informs him that since now all is well with their master, Utayaṉaṉ, it is time for the queen, Vācavatattai, to be reunited with him. He also informs him that subsequent to his departure, along with Vācavatattai, from the Ilāvāṇaka forest, he had gone to the hermitage of an ascetic. From there they had set forth to the city of Caṇpai to live in the house of a merchant by name Mittirakāmaṉ. Soon however they came to know that a spy of king Āruṇi, called Kāḷamayiṭaṉ, was living in the same city and fearing exposure in his hands, they had left that place and proceeded to the city of Puṇṭaram. A chieftain named Varuttamāṉaṉ had provided asylum for them in that town. But he himself was troubled by an elder brother of his by name Iravitattaṉ, who laid siege to his town. They had therefore finally gone to a hilly fort belonging to Varuttamāṉaṉ, where they are living at present. On receiving this message from Yūki, Urumaṇṇuvā repairs to their hiding place, meets them and goes from there to Kōcāmpi along with all of them. He leaves them in a garden called Matukāmpiravaṉam on the outskirts of the city of Kōcāmpi and proceeds to meet king Utayaṉaṉ.

18. Reunion of Vācavatattai with Utayaṉaṉ.[87]

One day Patumāpati asks Utayaṉaṉ to teach her to play on the lute, Kōṭapati. Utayaṉaṉ gives her no reply. He is preoccupied with thoughts of Vācavatattai. That day, in his dream, he sees a white lotus with a bull from the milky ocean presented to him by a celestial maiden. Utayaṉaṉ asks for an interpretation of this dream from a sage, who tells him that Vācavatattai is not actually dead but will soon come back to him and from her he will beget a son who will rule over the Vidyādhara world.

87. *Ibid.* 4 : 5 - 8.

While Utayaṉaṉ spends his days with the hope of getting back his queen, Vācavatattai, rekindled in his heart, Urumaṇṇuvā arrives from the Magadha country. Utayaṉaṉ is filled with joy on seeing Urumaṇṇuvā and asks him to narrate all the the incidents which had taken place since he was captured by Eliccevi.

After informing him about the same, Urumaṇṇuvā takes Vayantakaṉ aside and appraises him of the arrival of Yūki and Vācavatattai at the garden adjoining the city. Soon thereafter, Vayantakaṉ finds Utayaṉaṉ lamenting the loss of his queen Vācavatattai and asks him whether it was proper on his part to allow himself to be lost in thoughts about Vācavatattai all the time, and neglect Patumāpati after marrying her. Utayaṉaṉ replies that it was the resemblance between the latter and Vācavatattai that had induced him to fall in love with her and in any case, he is unable to control his sorrow in having lost his beloved Vācavatattai. Vayantakaṉ then tells him that the ascetic, Kākatuṇṭaṉ, whom they had approached earlier with a request to bring her back to life, has now arrived at Kōcāmpi and may be in a position to reunite Utayaṉaṉ with Vācavatattai. He therefore advises Utayaṉaṉ to keep away from Patumāpati till the time when he would be able to meet Vācavatattai. Utayaṉaṉ accordingly excuses himself from the company of Parumāpati on the pretext of some urgent political business and enters his bed-chamber alone, leaving instructions for Vayantakaṉ to go and see how he can bring Vācavatattai to him.

While Utayaṉaṉ is asleep, the ministers allow Vācavatattai to enter his bed-chamber. Vācavatattai finds the lute, Kōṭapati, in the chamber and starts to play on it. Utayaṉaṉ listens to her music in a semiconscious state and speaks to her, thinking that all this is a dream. He expresses to her the sorrow which he has been experiencing since the time when she was burnt to death in the fire accident. She keeps mum and listens to him. Utayaṉaṉ goes back to sleep and Vācavatattai slips out of the bed-chamber. The ministers ask her to come back the next day along with Yūki.

The next day Vayantakaṉ takes Utayaṉaṉ tō Matukāmpira-vaṉam on the pretext of meeting the sage Kākatuṇṭaṉ there.

There Vayantakaṉ points out to him Yūki who is sitting in a room in the park in the disguise of an ascetic. Recognising him, Utayaṇaṉ embraces Yūki and finds that Vācavatattai and Cāṅkiyattāy are also in an adjoining room. He gradually learns from them about all the incidents which had really taken place.

Utayaṇaṉ proclaims the arrival of Vācavatattai in the city and the whole city wears a festive look. Patumāpati also comes and pays her respects to Vācavatattai. Thus Utayaṇaṉ is finally reunited with Vācavatattai.

We are now in a position to compare the foregoing narrative of the *Pk.* with the corresponding versions found in the other works. We have already seen that according to *Kss.*[88] Yaugandharāyaṇa who accompanies Vāsavadattā in her stealthy journey from the Lāvāṇaka forest, leaves her along with Vasantaka in the care of princess Padmāvatī herself. Padmāvatī takes great care of Vāsavadattā while Yaugandharaāyaṇa returns to Lāvāṇaka where Udayana is informed of the death of the queen in the fire accident. The spies of the king 'Pradyota' of Magadha report these developments to him. Pradyota then sends a proposal for the marriage of his 'daughter', Padmāvatī, with Udayana. This news reaches the ears of Vāsavadattā who is staying in the apartment of Padmāvatī under the name of Avantikā and causes her much grief.

In due course the marriage of Udayana with Padmāvatī is celebrated with great pomp. But Udayana notices the celestial garland and decorative marks on the forehead which Vāsavadattā alone can make, on the person of Padmāvatī. He concludes that Vāsavadattā must be alive. After the marriage they all go back to Lāvāṇaka. Udayana finds out from Padmāvatī who has made the garland and the 'tilaka' and meets Vāsavadattā again. This leads to the reunion of Udayana with Vāsavadattā. The king of Magadha who initially resents the deception to which he has been subjected, is finally pacified by Padmāvatī who assures him that she is being treated well by Udayana and Vāsavadattā.

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88. *Kss.* II : XV. ff.

The veracity of the account of the *Pk.* is however vindicated by the narration of Bhāsa of these incidents which forms the subject matter of his play, *Svapnavāsavadattā*[89]. Here we find Udayana confessing to Vasantaka that in spite of the many good qualities of Padmāvatī he has not been able to erase the memory of Vāsavadattā. He then goes in search of Padmāvatī who is reported to be suffering from a severe head ache. Not finding her, he lies down in a pavilion, and falls asleep. Vasantaka leaves his side in order to fetch a blanket for him. Vāsavadattā comes there just then and not suspecting that it is Udayana who is sleeping in the bed and taking the occupant of the bed to be Padmāvatī, lies down on the same bed. Udayana dreams of Vāsavadattā to realise the real situation. She answers his dreamy enquiries and then goes away. Just then a messenger from king Darśaka tells Udayana that Rumṇvān is on his way to attack Āruṇi and Udayana prepares himself for the war.

In the next act, we find Udayana occupying the throne of the Vatsa country but still grieving over the loss of Vāsavadattā and of his celestial lute, Ghoṣavatī. A goodwill message from king Pradyota is in the meantime received by him, along with the portraits of Udayana and Vāsavadattā. Padmāvatī who sees them is struck by the resemblance between Vāsavadattā and the so called sister of Yaugandharāyaṇa. Just then, Yaugandharāyaṇa arrives, still in disguise, and demands the return of his sister. Vāsavadattā is then brought in their presence and is immediately recognised. Yaugandharāyaṇa eventually discloses his identity and every thing is explained by him. Udayana is thus happily reunited with Vāsavadattā.

19. The marriage of Utayaṇaṉ with Māṉaṉīkai[90].

According to the *Pk.* after the reunion of Utayaṇaṉ with Vācavatattai, Piraccōtaṉaṉ sends a messenger to him with many presents for all the courtiers of Utayaṇaṉ. The messenger, Patumai, is honoured by Utayaṇaṉ and sent back with gifts for

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89. Bhāsa, *Svapnavāsavadattam*, edited by M. R. Kale, 6th edition (Bombay, 1962).

90. *Pk.* 4 : 12 - 14

Piraccōtaṉaṉ. He also groups the captured members of the harem of Āruṇi into two and orders one group each to be in the service of Vācavatattai and Patumāpati.

After this we find an account of how Utayaṇaṉ honoured his ministers, queens and those who had helped him when he was in trouble. Utayaṇaṉ gives the title 'Sēnāpati' (commander-in-chief) to Urumaṇṇuvā and gives him the ring of an eṉāti[91] (enāti mōtiram). He also presents him with a gift of many villages and gives Irācaṉai, a friend of Patumai, in marriage to him. He presents the country of Cēti (Cedi) to Yūki. Itapakan obtains a town called Muṉaiyūr and fifty other tracts of forest land. Utayaṇaṉ then sends him to the city of Puṭpakam. He donates thirteen cities to Vayantakaṉ, makes an allownce of a hundred gold pieces every day to him and asks him to stay by his side all the time. Icaiccaṉ is also presented with many villages. Similarly he also honours all the soldiers who helped him viz. Cātakaṉ, the potter, who gets the title "the great potter" (Peruṅkuyavaṉ), Ātittiyataruman (Ādityadharma), the son of Cattiyakāmaṉ (Satyakāma) who lost his life in the war, and others, who also get various presents. Later he presents his mother a prosperous country, which would enable her to perform charity. He makes presents to his queens, Vācavatattai and Pātumāpati also, as described earlier.

Thus Utayaṇan spends his time happily in his palace. Once when he is in his palace, Vayantakaṉ comes there with the message that Patumāpati and Vācavatattai are going to arrange a "*ball game*"[92] (Pantaṭi) along with their friends after dividing

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91. An ancient title conferred by a king on his minister Madras Lexicon, *op. cit.* vol. I, p. 574.

    See also. *Maṇimēkalai*, 22 : 235.

    Commentary to *Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ* Kaḷaviyal cūttiram 2.

    Iṟaiyaṉār Akapporuḷ, 5th edition. (Published by South India Saiva Siddhanta works Publishing Society, Madras, 1969.) p. 30.

92. *Ibid.* 4 : 12

themselves into two groups. Vayantakaṉ tells Utayaṇaṉ that they also could go there provided they disguised themselves as ladies. Utayaṇaṉ follows his suggestion and goes to witness the competition. The different types of balls and the materials of which they were made are described in detail here.[93] The ladies, Irācaṉai, Kāñcaṉamālai, Ayirāpati, Viccuvalēkai, (Viśvalekā), Āriyai (Āryā) and the daughter of the king of Kōcalam (Kōśala country) take part in the sport and display their talents in hitting the ball in the air.

Utayaṇaṉ who watches the daughter of the king of Kōcalam falls in love with her and admires her talent in hitting the balls. He then leaves the place unobserved and returns after removing his disguise. Seeing the king all the maids go away. The king, after taking his seat, asks the two queens to parade all their attendants before him. Vācavatattai hides Māṉaṉīkai, the daughter of the Kōcala king and shows him all the other maids in her retinue. Utayaṇaṉ finds out the details of their family etc. from all the ladies, one by one. Having noticed that the girl who stole his fancy is not among them, he asks Vācavatattai why only one of her maids is not there. Vācavatattai gets angry and replies to him that if has anything to tell her he can always tell her when they were alone with each other. In reply Utayaṇan says that he wants to see a particular maid viz. Māṇanīkai, because he has got the information that she knows a lot about the possessions of the enemy king, Āruṇi.

After this incident the text is interrupted[94] and starts with the portion describing Māṉaṉīkai appearing before Utayaṇaṉ. Māṉaṉikai comes and offers her respects to king Utayaṇaṉ who enquires where she is from. She informs him that she is the maid of Vacuntari, the queen of the Kōcala country. She has been taken captive by the king of Pāñcāla when he invaded their country and appointed as a maid–servant to perform make up to his queen. On hearing this Utayaṇaṉ asks her to do the same service to queen Vācavatattai.

93. *Ibid.* 4 : 12 : 41 ff.

94. *Ibid.* 4 : 13 : 25

Mānaṉikai decorates Vācavatattai employing all her skills as a beauticiaṉ. Vācavatattai goes to show the same to Utayaṇaṉ. He being aware that Mānaṉikai can read the Yavana script, tells her that the decorative painting on her face does not match her beauty. He erases everything from her face and addresses a letter to Mānaṉikai by writing it on the face of Vācavatattai using the Yavana script. He mixes the pollen of flowers and sandal paste and writes as follows :

"Oh, Mānaṉikai! I have seen you while you were playing with the balls. I have lost my mind to you. My mind is now with you and is taken up by your beauty. My life is in danger and you are the only medicine for my illness. I want to convey a lot to you, but there is no space here for me to write every thing that I want to say. Please show me your favour."

Utayaṇaṉ then asks Vācavatattai to go to Mānanikai who reads what is written on the face of Vācavatattai and praises the decorative pattern made by the king. The next day she in reply writes a letter on a side of the forehead of Vācavatattai in the form of a decorative pattern :

"Oh lord ! I came to know about your love for me. But I feel that love between us under the circumstances is improper. Only ladies like Vācavatattai deserve your love and not a humble maid like me. It is not proper for me to indulge in such affairs. Please forget your love for me".

When Vācavatattai goes to Utayaṇaṉ he reads the mesage from Mānaṉikai and sends back the message that if Manaṉikai does not pay heed to his request within the end of the day he will die. The next day Mānaṉikai addresses a letter to Utayaṇaṉ in the same manner, suggesting as a rendezvous a spot near the Kuccarakkuṭikai (Gūrjara kuṭikā)[95] The king then excuses

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95. A house constructed in the style of Gujarāti architecture.
see also, *Maṇimēkalai.* 18 : *ll* 145, 152.

himself from the company of Patumāpati and Vācavatattai and repairs to the place suggested by Mā<u>n</u>a<u>n</u>ikai for their secret meeting at the appointed time.

Vācavatattai who grows suspicious by all these goings-on, sends her maid-sevant, Kāñca<u>n</u>amālai, to keep a watch over the activities of Utayaṇa<u>n</u>. She follows him and comes to know that he is meeting Mā<u>n</u>anīkai secretly in the Kuccarakkuṭikai. She reports this to Vācavatattai. When the king comes during the next morning to see her, Vācavatattai conceals her anger and says that she has had a dream in the previous night and saw that Utayaṇa<u>n</u> had cast her aside in order to enjoy himself in the company of another woman. Utayaṇa<u>n</u> tells her that she is imagining a lot of things unnecessarily and leaving her, waits for the evening to come, when he can meet Mā<u>n</u>a<u>n</u>īkai again.

That evening, Vācavatattai goes with her companion to the Kuccarakkuṭikai, after confining Mā<u>n</u>a<u>n</u>īkai inside a chamber. She awaits the king in the Kuccarakkuṭikai. When Utayaṇa<u>n</u> arrives there, she does not speak to him. Utayaṇa<u>n</u> mistakes her for Mā<u>n</u>a<u>n</u>ikai and goes behind her. He calls out her name as Mā<u>n</u>a<u>n</u>īkai and relates to her how Vācavatattai has had a dream about their relationship during the previous night. For all his words he gets no answer and therefore he attempts to seize her. Vācavatattai, who is now unable to restrain herself any longer, speaks out. Hearing her voice, the king runs away to a hall nearby where he stays, not knowing what to do.

The angry Vācavatattai wants to cut off the hair of Mā<u>n</u>a<u>n</u>īkai as a punishment and asks for a pair of scissors. This is overheard by Vayantaka<u>n</u> who runs to the king and informs him about what is happening to Mā<u>n</u>a<u>n</u>īkai. The king complains to Vayantaka<u>n</u> that it was all because of him (Vayantaka<u>n</u>) who took him (Utayaṇa<u>n</u>) to witness the ball game. Vayantaka<u>n</u> gets irritated and asks whether he asked the king to get involved with Mā<u>n</u>a<u>n</u>īkai. Anyway, on the request of the king, he goes over to the palace of Vācavatattai and pretends to be looking for the king. The maids there tell him that the queen is in a very angry mood and advise him not to go near her. But Vayantaka<u>n</u>,

pretending that he does not know anything about the affair between Utayaṉaṉ and Māṉaṉikai, asks the maids why Māṉaṉikai is in fetters. Vācavatattai in anger says to him: 'you go and ask that rogue who is in the attire of a king'. Having known that the queen is going to cut the hair of Māṉaṉikai, Vayantakaṉ tells the queen: 'Oh lady, your hands which ought to be always engaged in blessing others should not do such mean things. I am good at such things. Please give the pair of scissors to me'. Believing his words, the queen gives her pair of scissors to him. Vayantakaṉ, whose whole motive is to delay the matter, starts measuring the pair of scissors and says after sometime that it will not do any harm to Māṉaṉikai; instead it may bring only auspicious things to her. So he goes on to describe the nature, size and designs of various types of scissors and asks for another pair of scissors. In the meantime, on the request of Utayaṉaṉ, Yūki arrives there in the guise of a lunatic, dancing and prattling. His appearance and deeds cause all the maids to disperse in fear. So Vayantakaṉ asks a maid to inform the king about the arrival of a mad man in the harem. The king goes to Patumāpati and requests her to help him out of this sorry predicamant.

At the same time, some messengers from the country of Kōcalam arrive at the palace. They bring a message for Vācavatattai which she asks Patumāpati to read out. Patumāpati reads the message which runs as follows: 'Oh, Vācavatattai, the king of Kōcalam writes the following message to you:

' My daughter, Vācavatattai, was taken as a prisoner when the king of Pāñcāla invaded my country. I hear that she is now with you after the victory of your husband in his battle against Āruṇi. She has told no one that she is the daughter of queen Vacuntari, your aunt or that her name is also Vācavatattai. She has given her name as Māṉaṉikai. Please look after her well till I come there to fetch her back."

The attitude of Vācavatattai towards Māṉaṉikai is now completely changed since she realises that she is her [own aunt's daughter. She removes her fetters and apologises to her. She then

decorates Mānaṉikai and asks Utayaṇaṉ to marry her. Utayaṇaṉ accordingly marries her in accordance with religious rites.

20. The marriage of Utayaṇaṉ with Viricikai[96]

At this point Koṅkuvēḷir commences the narration of the sequel to the incident described in section ten[97] viz. the encounter with Utayaṇaṉ with Viricikai in the Ilāvāṇaka forest.

Viricikai grows up into a beautiful maiden and resolves that she would not accept a garland (in marriage) from any one other than Utayaṇaṉ, who had made her wear his garland in the Ilāvāṇka forest. Her father approaches in his palace at Kōcampi and introduces himself as the former king of Mandara, to whom Viricikai was born of his queen, the daughter of the king of Kāci (Kāśi), Nīlakēci (Nīlakeśin) by name. He then entreats the king to accept the hand of his daughter in marriage in front of the sacrificial fire. Utayaṇaṉ informs Vācavatattai about this and obtains her consent for the proposed marriage. Viricikai then arrives at the city, accompained by her kinsfolk, who decorate her for the wedding. She is received by the maids of the household of Utayaṇaṉ, headed by Cāṅkiyattāy. She is advised by her kinsfolk henceforth to consider Vācavatattai, Patumāpati, and Mānaṉikai as her mothers, and Utayaṇaṉ as her father, and asked to go to the palace. Her father leaves on a pilgrimage and the people of the city flock to have a glimpse of her on the way to the palace. When she finally reaches the palace, her marriage with Utayaṇaṉ is performed with sacrificial rites in the presence of the other three queens"[98].

We now turn to a discussion of whether the incidents connected with Mānaṉikai and Viricikai as given in the *Pk.* form a part of the original *Bk.* or not.

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96. *Pk.* 4 : 15-17
97. *Supra.* p.
98. Vijayalakshmy R. *The Tamil Peruṅkatai and its relationship to the Bṛhatkatha* 1. The *Viricikai episode*, In press. Indo Iranial Journal (Holland, 1981).

While the character, Māṉaṉīkai, occurs only in the *Pk.* the romance of Utayaṇaṉ with Viricikai is mentioned also in the Kashmerian works and in the play, Svapnavāsavadattam. In these latter works she is called Viracitā or Viracikā. On the contrary, the affairs between Udayana and the following lady characters have been described in various Sanskrit, Prākrīt and Pāli works : Bandhumatī, Lalitā, Vasudattī, Rajanikā, Kaliṅgasenā, Kōśalikā, Manoramā, Sāmāvatī, Māgandīyā, Anupamā, Śrimatī, and Gopālamātā.[99]

Among these, the episode of Bandhumatī as described in the *Kss.* appears to bear some resemblance to that of Māṉaṉīkai in the *Pk.* The character, Rajanikā, occurring in the *Bkm.* is also somewhat similar to that of Māṉaṉīkai. The plays, Ratnāvalī and Priyadarśikā, written by Śrīharṣa also contain similar accounts. In particular, these works talk about the relationship between Vāsavadattā and Ratnāvali / Priyadarśikā on the maternal side, in a way similar to the *Pk.* The name 'Kōśalikā' given to the heroine of Bhavanutacūḍā's lost play, of which an extract is now available, suggests that this work also had dealt with the connection between Udayana and a princess of the Kośala country. The above similarities between the Māṉaṉīkai episode and all the above works clearly establish that it did occur in some form, in the portion dealing with the romantic exploits of Udayana in the original *Bk.*

Regarding Vīricikā,, the *Kss.* informs us that she was a maid servant in his palace to whom Udayana took a fancy before his marriage with Vāsavadattā. Even afterwards he continued having an affair with Viracikā and is exposed by his 'gotraskhalana' ie. by calling out the name of Viracikā wrongly, while speaking to Vāsavadattā. However the *Pk.* is again the only source which gives the full details of this story.

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99. Niti Adaval. op. cit. pp. 135-180.

The only remaining Kāṇṭam of the available text of the *Pk.* with which we have to deal is the Naravāṇakāṇṭam. It is evident that this chapter describes the birth of a son named Naravāṇatattaṉ (Naravāhaṇadatta) to Utayaṇaṉ and his adventures till he becomes the emperor of the Vidyādharas. Since this part has a good deal in common with the text of the *Bkss.* we devote the next chapter for a detailed discussion of this part of the story of the *Pk.*

CHAPTER IV

A comparative study of the Naravāṇakāṇtam of the Peruṅkatai and the other versions of the Bṛhatkathā

In composing a work based on a story of north Indian origin, in accordance with the literary tradition of Tamil, the author of the *Pk.* apparently has not sacrificed even minute details of his narrative, nor deviated from the sources available to him. This becomes evident whenever a comparison is made between portions of the *Pk.* and the corresponding passages in other authentic versions of the *Bk.* with which such a comparison may be made. Instances of this occur in the part of the text dealing with the circumstances of Naravâhandatta's birth. In what follows we discuss this part of the text of the *Pk.*

The longing for a child in the hearts of Utayaṇaṉ and Vācavatattai.

We give below the text of the *Pk.* which deals with the circumstances under which an intense longing for a son is kindled in the hearts of Utayaṇaṉ and Vâcavatattai.)

....

Varam il oḻukkiṉ vāṇikar iṇṭi
muṟaiyoṭu ceṉṟu muṟaimaiyiṟ piḷaiyak
kaṟai tīr ceṅkōṟ kavalaṟk icaittu
muṟaiy itu kēṭkkeṉak kēṭpatu virumpi
urumaṇṇuvāviṉaip perumakaṉ paṇiya
viṉāvav aṉṉāṟkku viṉāv etir vaḷamai
mūvar āvār oru makaṟk orutti kaṇ
mēvarat tōṉṟiya makkaḷ am mūvarum
āṉṟa kēḷviyot aṟa neṟi tiriyar
mūṉṟu tiṟam paṭṭa viruppiṉaravaruḷ
eṟī tirai mun nirūṭu ceṉṟav vaḷi
uṟu vilaip paṇṭattiṉ oruvaṉ vaḷum
kaṭaiyakatt iruntu taṉṉuṭaiyatu perukkip
pirivilaṉ vaḷum oruvaṉ oruvaṉ

ariya paṉṭam eḷitiṉ aṭakkiy avai
uriya kālattu uṟṟatu pakarum
iṉṉavai maṟṟavar iyaṟkai muṉṉōṉ
polampaṭu tiviṟkkuk kalantalaippeyarntuḷic
cūḷ vaḷi cuḷaṟṟav āḷ kayatt aḻuntiṉaṉ
aḻuntiṉāṉ eṉpatu kēṭṭēy aṟiv ayarnt
oḷintav iruvarum uṟukaṭaṉ kaḷippit
tavvaiyaic cērntu kavvitiṉ moḻiyac
ceṉṟatu niṉṟatuñ citaiviṉṟ eṉṉi
naṉṟu cēy vāḻkkaiy eṉreṭutt iṟṟeṉa
oṉṟum uraiyāḷ orumaik kōṭaliṉ
venṟit tāṉai vira vēnta niṉ
aṭi niḻal āṭaintaṉam atuv eṅ kuṟaiy eṉa
..............................[1]

In the above passage of the *Pk.* an incident is narrated which takes place when Utayaṉan, after his successful campaign against Āruni, the king of Pāñcāla, who had usurped his throne, reigns over the Vaṭṭava kingdom. One day, he is approached by two merchants who inform him that they are the last two of the three sons of their parents. Each one of them, being of a different disposition, had adopted a different way of life. The eldest of them undertook voyages, carrying merchandise to far away lands, the middle one stayed behind in the town, looking after the family trade, while the youngest used to hoard up goods and release them when they were in demand, thus conducting a prosperous speculative business. Their eldest brother who had recently gone off to the island where gold is obtained is reported to have met with a shipwreck in the sea and has not returned home. The two younger brothers had found their sister-in-law completely over-whelmed by the sorrow of her bereavement and she does not give any reply to their queries about how his property should be disposed of. They want the king to intercede in the matter and settle the issue.

The kinsmen of the eldest daughter-in-law in form the king that while all this is true, the death of their eldest brother is yet not confirmed, since no one who had survived the shipwreck

1. *Pk.* 5 : 1 : 6-32.

has so far come back home. In the meantime his wife is also expecting the birth of an heir to he husband's fortune.[2]

Urumaṇnuvā (Rumaṇvān) who is directed by the king to give a verdict over the issue, proposes the following solution: he orders the money belonging to the missing merchant to be brought and sealed up by both of his younger brothers. He then leaves it in the custody of one of them for an year to come. In the meantime if their brother returns, it would go back to him. If a son is born to the pregnant lady, then also the two of them would have no claim over it. If, on the other hand, she gives birth to a daughter, the expenses for bringing her up, educating her and for her marriage should be provided for. The rest of the money may be divided up between them.

This verdict is accepted by the two merchants who then leave the court. In the heart of the king this incident causes an intense longing for a son. He goes to his palace where he sees his queen, Vācavatattai, eagerly observing a pigeon which is feeding her young ones. He realises that she too is worried like him over their childless state. The same incident occurs in the same context in the *Bkss.*[3] in the following passage :

....

kadācit asthānagatam nṛpam vāṇijadārakau |
jānuspṛṣṭamahī pṛṣṭau saṇvijñāpayatāmidam||

devāvayōḥ pitā yātaḥ sabhayam makarālayam |
saha tena sa potena nāgalokam praveśitaḥ||

jyeṣṭaśca tanayastasya pitṛbhaktyaiva sāgaram |
gatastatraiva ca gataḥ soapi tātagatām gatim||

yacca no draviṇam sāram tadgṛhitvā prajāvatī |
sthitā na mṛgyamāṇāmapi bahukṛtvaḥ prayacchati||

tena deva yadi nyāyyam pitṛdṛaviṇam āvayoḥ |
bhrātṛjāyā tataḥ sa nau vyuthitā dāpyatāmiti||

atha rājāvadatprahvaṃ pratihārīm yaśodharām |
duṣkaram kulanārībhīḥ rājasthānapraveśanam||

2. *Ibid.* 5 : 1 : 32ff.

3. *Bkss.* IV : 21 - 39

tena gatvā gṛham tasyāstvaya vāṇijayoṣitaḥ |
sā yadāha sabhayāstatsamakṣam kathyatām iti||

atha vijñāpayāmāsa yātā yātāyaśodharā |
vijñāpayati sā yattadākarṇayitumarhatha||

sā dūrād eva mām dṛṣṭvā pratyudgamya sasambhramā |
svāgatam rājajihvayā ityavocatkṛtasmitā||

atha vetrāsanāsīnām prayuktārghādisatkriyām |
sā mamāhagame kāryamāryayā jñāpyatāmiti||

devādeśe tu kathite tayoktam paṭulajjayā |
ārye sarvamidam satyam devarau me yadāhatuḥ||

kim tu tasyānayorbhrāturvipannam vāhanam śrutam |
vāhanasya punaḥ svāmī vipanna iti na śrutam||

samyātrikāśca bahavaḥ śrutapotavipattayaḥ |
avipannā gṛhāneva śrūyante punarāgatāḥ||

tadā kadācitanayoḥ sa bhrātā vāhanāpadaḥ |
vimuktaḥ punarāyāyānmamavaidhavyalakṣaṇaiḥ||

anyaccāpannasatvāyā māsoayam daśamo mama |
vartate bhrātṛpūtroapi kadācidanayorbhavet||

putro me yadi jāyeta jīvanva patirāpatet |
tataḥ svīkṛtasarvasvau devarau me kva yāsyataḥ||

etanmanasi kṛtvārtham dravyam devarayoraham |
na nikṣiptavatī śeṣamāryayā jñāpyatāmiti||

iti śrutvā mahīpālo vāṇijāvidamabravīt |
kuṭumbacāracaturā yuktamāha kuṭumbinī||

bhrātṛvye bhavatorjāte bhrāturāgamane atha vā |
ubhayornobhayorvāpi yuktam bhokṣyāmahe tadā||

.. ..

For comparison, the contents of the above passage are summarised below:

Once, when the king was seated in his assembly hall, the two sons of a merchant come to him. After paying their respects to him, they submit that their father found a watery grave when he had gone on a voyage in the sea. Their eldest brother also met the same fate. The family's wealth which now belongs to them, is not shown to them by their sister-in-law. They request the king to interfere in the matter and order the lady to hand

over to them their paternal wealth. The king then summons his chamber-maid called Yaśodharā and asks her to go to the house of the shipwrecked merchant's wife and find out the truth, since ladies belonging to good households are not supposed to come to the royal court under any circumstances. The chamber-maid is received by the sister-in-law of the plaintiffs with due respect. She concedes that all that was reported by her brothers–in-law is true. However she adds that while the ship has been known to have been wrecked at sea, it is not known for certain that her husband is dead. Many seafarers whose ships were wrecked at sea are known to have come back to their homes afterwards. Besides, she is also expecting a baby and this is the tenth month of her pregnancy. If she were to hand over the wealth to her brothers-in-law now, how would she get it back in the event of her giving birth to a son, or of her husband's return home ? The king to whom this reply of the merchant's wife is communicated by the chamber maid, agrees with her line of argument and tells the two plaintiffs to come back to him afterwards if a son was not born to her and their eldest brother also did not return by that time.

While they were conversing thus, there is a disturbance and a woman arrives from the house of the merchants announcing the birth of a son to the sister–in-law of the two merchants. The king watches the effect this news has on the plaintiffs who rejoice at the birth of an heir to the family fortune in spite of their despondency due to the loss of their suit at the same time. He then starts musing what will happen to his vast kingdom and wealth if no son was born to him.

Even though there are differences between the above versions of the *Pk.* and the *Bkss.* the similarities between them are apparent and striking. The same incident occurs also in the *Vh.* through in this case since there is no counterpart to Udayana in the story, it has been introduced in the story of Puṇḍā. We give a summary of this incident below[4].

"Once it happened that a certain merchant had three sons. One of them went for trade by ship, the other two did business by keeping a shop.

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4. Jain. *op. cit.* pp. 396. ff.

After some time knowing about the ship-wreck, both the brothers went to their sister-in-law and asked her to show the wealth she had in her possession. But she did not like to show it; she just kept quiet.

The brothers went to the king's court and requested king Puṇḍā, "O master! when our parents died, thinking that our elder brother was an authority, we did not worry about the wealth. He had gone by ship for trade, but there is no news about him. We asked his wife to show the wealth but she refuses. So kindly get us the money. You will thereby be doing us a great favour."

The king asked the merchant Tāraga to look into the matter. The merchant accepted the royal command,

Tāraga deputed the appointed spies to the merchant's house. Later the king asked Tāraga what happened in the matter. He replied : "O lord ! even the unborn child protects the ancestral wealth".

The king started reflecting, "O, the sons are exceedingly powerful, and I am without a son ! I don't know where the royal wealth will go."

Thus, we see, the story of the merchants is employed in all the three texts before a wish for a son is created in the mind of the king (i. e. Udayana in the *Pk*. and the *Bkss*. and Puṇḍa in the *Vh*).

The scene in which Vācavatattai is observing the pigeon feeding the young ones is also found both in the *Bkss*[5]. and the *Vh*[6]. In the *Bkss*. this incident is described in the form of the queen's reply to the king who asks her why she is observing the aśoka tree with despondency. Her reply is as follows :

---

5. *Bkss*. IV. : 59-60.

6. Jain. J. C. *op. cit*. p. 397.

. ...

maharaja kutaḥ śoko namapi tava gṛhyatam||
kimtu pāravatimenām cañcvā cañcuṣu taṇḍulan |

....

(O king, where is the question of any one in your household experiencing sorrow ? However, I am just looking at this female pigeon who is feeding into the beaks of her young ones pieces of lotus stalks with her beak).

The description of the same scene which occurs in the *Vh.* is much more closely similar to that occurring in the *Pk.* In the *Pk.* we have the following lines :

....

viri koṭip pavaḷattiṉ virinta cēvaṭik
kāḻakiṟ pukai niṟaṅ kaṭukkun tūvip
pāl ciṟaip puṟavam parintuṭaṉ āti
av vāyk koṇṭa vār iraiy amiḻtam
cev vāyp parppiṟkkuc cērntavaṉ coritaliṉ

....[7]

(The pigeon with red feet like the spreading creeper of coral, and feathers which are black like the smoke of the aloe, lovingly feeds her young ones with red mouths, the food which she has brought in her mouth)

The corresponding passage of the *Vh.* is given below for comparision :

....kālaguru dhūvasāmalam rattacalana nayanam appaṇo chuham agaṇemāṇam puttasinehena tuṃḍena uccinūṇa poyagamuhesu ukkiramāṇam......[8].

Once, desirous of a son, the king visited his harem. There he noticed the queen looking intently at a pair of pigeons feeding their young one. "What are you looking for ?" he inquired. "Oh

---

7. *Pk.* 5 : 1 . 66-70.

8. *Vh.* p. 216 : lines. 14-15.

lord ! look at the pigeon, dark in colour like aromatic vapours of a black aloe wood, with reddish feet and eyes, not caring for his own hunger, with his mouth lifted upwards, out of affection how he is putting the picked up grain into the young one's mouth"[9].

The dream which portends the birth of Naravāṇa-tattaṉ.

In the following passage of the *Pk.* we find the dream of Utayaṇaṉ is described :

...
tuyil iṭai yāmattut tuḷaṅkupu tōṉṟi
ayil vēṉeṭuṅkaṇ ōr ayiḷaiy aṇuki
aruḷum em iṟaiy eḻu puviy aḷittaṟkkup
poruḷum atuvē pōtukav eṉṟaliṉ
yār avaṉ kūṟeṉav av vaḻiy iṟaiñcip
pēr avaḷ ūraittaliṟ peru maka ṉōkkit
tuṉpamum iṉpamun tuṟakkal āṟṟa
maṉ perun tēviyoṭu celavuḷam amartaliṉ
maṟṟataiy uṇartti muṟṟ iḷaiy eḻukeṉap
paṟṟuna ḷuṭanē paṟantu vicump ivara
meluṅ kiḻu mēvara nōkki
mācaṟu makaḷir mammar eyti
āṉāk kaṉav iṭāi māṉitik kiḷavaṉ
viḷaṅkavai nāppaṭṭ uḷaṅkiṉar pukutaliṉ
arimā cumantav amaḷi kāṭṭat
tiru māṇākāttut tēviyoṭ ēṟi
irunta poḻutiṟ poruntiyāv alliyuḷ
veḷḷēṟu kiṭanta veṇṭāmaraip pūk
koḷ vaḻiy eḻutiya koṭiñciy uṭait tēṟp
poṉṉiyaṟoṭariṟ putalvaṉ iruttaliṟ
piṉṉar ap pūviṉ pikka nōkkip
piṟaḷntav aḻiyiṟ peru naṭuvāka
uṟaḷntu naṉiy aḻuttiyav uṟu poṉ alliyiṉ
oru muṭi piṟaḷtaliṉ arumaiy oṭu virumpik

9. Jain, *op. cit.* p. 397.

10. *Pk.* 5 : 1 : 76-110.

koṇṭ atu vav eṉak kōmakaḷ koṇṭu
vaṇṭaviḻ naṟuntār vattavaṟk aruḷi
neṭittaṉaṉ eḻukeṉa viṭuttaṉaḷ pōkak
koṭik kōcampi kuṟukit tamar iṭai
muṭikkalam ella muṟaimaiyi ṉōkkik
kaiviṉaik kammattuk katirppu naṉi pukaḻntu
vēṇṭukav ituv eṉa viḷaṅkiḻaik kōmakaṭk
iyak keṇṭu tan iṭai mulaic cērttalum
kāy katirk kaṉaliyiṟ katum eṉap pōḻntu
pukkatu viḻtalum porukk eṉa verii
eḻunta mātar ōṭ iṟaivaṉum ēṟṟuk
....

In the above passage we are told that when Utayaṇaṉ and Vācavatattai are sleeping in their palace, a celestial maiden appears before him in a dream in the middle of the night and asks him to come with her since her lord wanted to bestow on him the supremacy over the seven worlds. On being asked who her lord was, she informs him that he was Kupēraṉ (Kubera, the god of wealth). Utayaṇaṉ who desires to bring Vācavatattai also along with him, wakes her up and the celestial maiden carries them both in the skies to the abode of Kubera. There they are accorded seats in front of the god of wealth who presents them with a white lotus flower in the inner petals of which lies a white bull. Just then the son (of Kubera) comes there holding the golden chain of a toy chariot with a painted Koṭiñci. One of its wheels slips off and the top piece of a golden lily which is set at the centre of the wheels falls out. Kupēraṉ asks for it. The goddess who fetches it, is asked by him to present it to Utayaṇaṉ. After this incident she brings Utayaṇaṉ back to Kōcāmpi where he and all his people admire the workmanship of the top piece. It is then given to Vācavatattai by Utayaṇaṉ and she presses it to her bosom. Immediately it gets inside her, startling her. The king wakes up from his dream at this point.

A large portion of the account of this dream agrees with that described in the *Bkss.* in the same context. However, the passage in the *Pk.* which describes this dream is difficult to

understand without reference to the text of the *Bkss.* U. V. Saminatha Iyer who has edited the *Pk.* did not refer to the *Bkss.* and has interpreted this passage as follows, in his summary of Utayaṉaṉ's life story.[11]

'In the palace of Kupēraṉ Utayaṉaṉ remained seated on a throne along with his queen. Then the celestial damsel brought a *crown* under the orders of Kupēraṉ and presented it to him.'

Somasundaranar[12] has also followed the interpretation of Saminatha Iyer and the difficulty which he has experienced in the process is obvious from his annotation to the passage which is translated below:

"After the attendants of Kupēraṉ offered them both a seat which was supported by (sculptured) lions, they were given a white lotus flower by the god of wealth. Inside its petals lay a white bull. When Utayaṉaṉ accepted it he found a child lying on the golden chain of a chariot which had a painted Koṭiñci. Later they looked at the side of that flower and found a crown emerging from the centre of a wheel which rolled there. The celestial maiden exclaimed her surprise on seeing it and after presenting it to Utayaṉaṉ, brought them back to the earth".

Next, we turn to examine the translation of the passage given by Donald Nelson,[13] to see whether he is able to throw some light on the actual sequence of events described therein :

....

Still in dream,
when nervously they entered
the resplendent court of the Lord of Treasures,

---

11. Saminatha Iyer. U. V, *Utayaṉaṉ Carittiraccurukkam*, 8th edition (Madras, 1963) p. 177.

12. *Pk.* edited by Somasundaranar, 2nd edition, vol. II (Madras, 1962). p. p. 277—279.

13. *Donald Nelson, Bṛhatkatha Studies : The Tamil version of the Bṛhatkatha, op. cit.* pp. 229–230.

they were shown to the Lion Throne,
where, with his queen who was lovely as Śri,
(Udayana) took his seat;
and there they sat in state
(Kubera's) son appeared
with a broken toy cart upon a golden chain,
the cart's lotus-pole fashioned to hold
a white lotus' bloom in which,
midst its fine inner petals,
lay a white bull.
Then from amongst the bloom's
close-set petals of thick gold
bounced out a crown
and wobbled about like the great hub of a wobbling wheel,
like a (wobbly) young tusker.
"Bring it!" said the goddess
with earnest desire,
and, taking it, graciously bestowed it
upon Vatsa's king, whose fragrant garlands
the bees pull loose.
"I have kept you," she said.
"Rise now and go."
And she gave them leave to depart.
when back in flag-bedecked Kauśāmbi,
amidst his own folk,
at length (Udayana) praised (the crown's) splendid craft,
fit compare to any of the crown jewels.
"Please, you must have it!"
he offered it to. his chief-queen,
the lady of shining earrings.
But when she took it and pressed it between her breasts,
like the burning-rayed sun her body it
swiftly pierced and entered within.
And when that took place
the lady awoke with a start
and with her the king awoke too.

....

We can see the above rendering is more intelligible and coherent than that by either Saminatha Iyer and Somasundaranar. The portion of the translation reproduced here is however much more elaborate than the corresponding original passage which is just seventeen lines long, thus demonstrating how terse and obscure the latter is. And, as we shall show below, the interpretation given in the above translation would have been impossible to arrive at without a reference to the *Bkss.* which is the only other work in which an identical situation has been described.

To facilitate further discussion we now reproduce the narration of the dream sequence as found in the *Bkss.*[14]

....

ekada prati buddhau tu dampati jatasaṃbhramau |
ha devi haryaputreti vyaharantau parasparam ||
athopaspṛśya nṛpatirnamaskṛtva dhanādhipam |
puraḥpurohitadinamacakhyau svapnamadṛtaḥ ||
adya paśyamyaham svapne vyomni kamapi devatam |
prabhambhaḥsaṃtativyastanabho maṇḍalanilatam ||
sa mamuktavati vaca gambhirasukumaraya |
tvamaḥvayati vitteśastadaśam gamyatamataḥ ||
mayomiti pratigñate saṃdhyaraktataram karam |
aropya prasthita vyomni diśam vitteśapalitam ||
śarveṇeha dhṛta gaṅga pariṇitatra parvati |
ityadindarśayanti nau pradeśan parvatipituḥ ||.

....

avatarya tu maṃ dvare guhyakeśvaraveśmanaḥ |
vadati kṣaṇamatreva sthiyatamiti devata||
sa praviśya pratiharya saha nirgamya bhaṣate |
anugñatapraveśoasi devenagamyatamiti||
bhavananiva devanaṃ ṣaḍatikramya saptame |
kakṣantare prakṛṣṭarḍhau paśyami draviṇeśvaram||
atha tatrapsaraḥ kacitkaṃcidāha nirikṣya mam |
sakhi nūnamasaveṣa yasyāsau bhavitā sutaḥ||

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14. *Bkss.* v : 17 ff.

mayā mantrayamānānāmṛṣiṇāmagrataḥ śrutam |
bharatānāmayam vamśe viśuddhe jāyatāmiti||

na caiṣa kevalam dhanyastena putreṇa pārthivaḥ |
soapi sādhūyamānasya putraḥ pātram bhaviṣyati ||

tena tattādṛśam putram labhatāmeṣa bhūpatiḥ |
asāvapi śaciśakracaritau pitarāvapi ||

kārye guruṇi saktatvāt ṛṇikṛtasurāṅganaḥ |
sakiṃkaragaṇam prahvaḥ praṇamāmi dhanādhipam ||

manuṣyadharmā tu bhujam bhujageśvarapivaram |
udyamyāha manuṣyendra svāgatam sthiy.tāmiti||

āsanne ratnacaraṇe dipite kanakāsane |
vyavadhāya tu māmāste devi nicaistarāsanā ||

..

..

evam prāye ca vṛttānte kumāro nalakūbaraḥ |
rājarājasutaḥ krīḍannayataḥ saha bālakaiḥ ||

merusāramaharatnasaṃghatakṛta saṃhatim |
krīḍāśakaṭikām karṣannitaścetaśca gacchati ||

atha skhalitacakrāyāstasyāḥ kusumasaṃcaye |
utplutya patitam ratnam vaiḍūryakṣodakuṭṭime ||

atha prasāritakaraḥ kubero nalakūbaram |
mahyametaddadasveti tadratnamudayācata ||

nyastam ca rājāputreṇa rājarājakarodare |
ratnam paṅkajagarbhasthabandhūkamiva rājate ||

duṣṭlakṣaṇamuktānām muktānam parivāritam |
ṣaḍvimśatyā padmarāgamaṣṭāśri bahalaprabham ||

vittādhipatinā mahyam dattam devyai ca tanmayā |
stanayorantare nyastamanayāpi sphuranmudā ||

simhaśāvastato bhūtvā cañcadvāladhikeśaraḥ ||
vidārya dakṣiṇam kukṣimetasyāḥ praviśatyasau ||

..

We now give a free translation of the contents of the above passage :

Udayana, who longed for the birth of a son, propitiated Lord Kubera, along with Vāsavadattā. Once the couple woke up with

a start from sleep, the king exclaiming ; "Oh, my queen !" and the queen exclaiming "Hā, my husband (Āryaputra) !". The king then summoned his priest and explained to him what he saw in his dream as follows : 'Today I saw a certain celestial female deity who told me that the god of wealth wanted to see me. I was then transported by her via the spots where Lord Śiva bore the Ganges (in his matted hair) and married Pārvatī, to the city of Alaka. She asked me to wait in front of the palace of Kubera, went in and came back with his permission to take me to audience. On the way, as I passed through six courtyards to get into the seventh where he was seated, I saw the apsara maidens whispering to each other, pointing to me and saying 'He is the one to whom he will be born as the son'. One of the sages in front was seen telling another "He may take birth in the faultless race of the Bharatas so that not only this king will have the good fortune of begetting such a son but he will also be fortunate in having parents who are like Lord Indra and Sachī, his consort". When I bowed before the God of wealth he made me occupy a golden seat studded with gems, with my queen also in another seat nearby. The celestial maidens like Ūrvaśī, Menakhā, Rambhā, Chitralekhā started singing to time while Tilotamā danced. Just at that moment the prince, Nalakūbara (son of Kubera) came there playing and pulling a toy-cart. Then one of the wheels of that toy-cart got loosened and out of the collection of flowers made of gems which was engraved in it, a gem rolled out and fell on the floor which was embossed with lapiz lazuli. Lord Kubera asked Nalakūbara to fetch that gem and held it in his hand, where it shone like the pollen of a lotus flower. It was surrounded by twenty -six flawless pearls and had eight facets. He gave it to me and I, in turn, gave it to my queen. When she placed it between her breasts, it was transformed into the cub of a lion which then pierced her left and entered inside her. Seeing that, I woke up crying out "Hā, my queen !"

It is obvious that the missing links in the explanation of the *Pk.* passage are supplied by the passage from the *Bkss.* Thus, for instance, the term "*Putalvan*" in line ninety five of the *Pk.* has been taken by Nelson to refer to "*Kubera's son*". We see that this information is derived from the corresponding phrase in

the *Bkss.* viz. "*Kumāro Nalakūbaraḥ*". Similarly the term "tēr" has been translated as "*toy-cart*", an idea which can only be obtained from the corresponding term used in the *Bkss*, which is "krīḍā śakaṭikā".

The wrong interpretation by Saminatha Iyer and Somasundaranar of lines ninety two and ninety three as referring to the gift of a white lotus containing a white bull by Kubera to Udayana, has been set right by Donald Nelson who correctly takes it to mean "*the figure of a lotus flower engraved in the Koṭiñci (lotus-pole) of the toy-cart*". This interpretation immediately makes it clear to us that the royal couple were engaged in looking at that flower which was painted in the toy–cart and then suddenly one of the wheels of the cart-slipped off. This detail has been missed by all the three commentators mentioned. While Saminatha Iyer and Somasundaranar have simply stated that a wheel rolled in front of them Nelson has taken the expression '*Piṟaḷnta āḷiyiṉ*' to be just a simile which he has translated as "*like the great hub of a wobbling wheel*". The key to the understanding of this passage is provided again by the line in the *Bkss*:

"*atha skhalitacakrāyāstasyāh kusumasañcaye*".

Thus it was one of the wheels of the toy–cart which has slipped off and that wheel had a collection of flowers engraved in it. We do not understand Nelson's next line. '*like a (wobbly) young tusker*" for which there exists no corresponding phrase in the original text either of the *Pk.* or the *Bkss*.

We are then told that a '*crown*' emerged from the '*wheel*' by Saminatha Iyer and Somasundaranar while Nelson states that the crown '*bounced out of the bloom's petals of thick gold*" We think that there is again a misreading of the text here. The word '*muṭi*' in the phrase '*uṟu poṉṉalliyiṉ oru muṭi*' need not, in our opinion, be taken to mean "*a crown*" but may simply be taken to represent, '*one of the top parts of the golden lily*". In this way, the phrase '*uru poṉṉalliyiṉ oru muṭi piṟaḷa*' would directly corespond with the line '*Kusumasañcaye utplutya*

patitaṃ ratnaṃ" ie. "the ruby which fell out of the flower pattern engraved in the toy cart". The command '*Koṇṭatuvā*' '('Bring it') presumably by Kubera to his son would correspond with the request he makes in the *Bkss*. '*mahyam etad dadasva*'. ('Give it to me'). When Utayaṉaṉ gives the ruby to Vācavatattāi she places it in her bosom. The phrase '*taṉṉiṭai mulaiccērttalum*', is synonymous with the phrase '*stanayorantare nyastam*' occurring in the *Bkss*.

It is said in the *Bkss*. that the astrologer, Ādityaśarman,[15] interpreted this dream as signifying the birth of a son who would acquire mastery over the eight arts and marry twenty six wives. This detail does not occur in the *Pk*. version of the dream.

The Pregnancy wish (dohada) of Vācavatattai

In accordance with the astrologer's prediction, Vācavatattai becomes pregnant. She then has a pregnancy wish which being unfulfilled causes her to grow pale and thin. In the *Pk*. we are told that Utayaṉaṉ notices it and enquires her what she wants[16]. He assures her that he would fulfiill her desire, whatever it may be. As an example of the fact that the pregnancy wish of a wife was always fulfilled by the husband at any cost, he narrrates an incident[17],

....
kūṭiya koḷumaṉ koḷuṅ kuṭar micaikuṟa
ōtiyav uḷḷatt uyar tuṇait tēviyaik
kuṟaiyiṟ kēṭṭuk koṭuttu nōy taṇitta
maṟaiyil perum pukaḻ maṉṉavaṉ pōla
eṉṉatāyiṉum īkuvaṉ..............—

(..."Like the king of faultless fame, who found out the wish of his noble queen to eat the fatty intestine of her husband (i. e. himself) and satisfied her desire by giving it to her.)"

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15. *Bkss*. v. 47 ff.

16. *Pk*. 5 : 1 : 211 ff.

17. *Ibid*, 5 : 1 : 220.

From this passage one is not able to know the identity of the king referred to but the author apparently assumes that the story is well known.

The following passage of the *Bkss*[18]. gives a detailed explanation of this story.

....

śrūyatāṃ vā purāvṛttaṃ mathurāyāmabhūnnṛpaḥ |
ugraseno mahāsenaḥ śatrusenāmbudānilaḥ ||
tasya strī guṇasampannā śucyācārakulodbhavā |
āsīnmanoramācārā yā nāmnāpi manoramā ||
kadācidāgate kāle samṛddhakuṭajārjune |
rasanmayūrasāraṅgameghamaṇḍūkamaṇḍale ||
manoramaṃ gṛhodyānaṃ praviveśa manoramā |

....

tadāca drumilo nāma dānavo nabhasā vrajan |
udyānaśobhayākṛṣṭadṛṣṭistāṃ tatra dṛṣṭavān ||
kṛtograsenarūpeṇa tena sāpāyacetasā |
samagacchata sadyaśca sasattvā samapadyata ||
strībhiśca dohadaṃ pṛṣṭā kṛcchrāduktavatī hṛiyā |
viṣṇoḥ śoṇitamaṃsāntrairgamayāmi tṛṣāmiti ||
śrutvedamugrasenena ciraṃ sammantraya mantribhiḥ |
sṛṣṭaḥ piṣṭamayo viṣṇurmeṣāmiṣabhṛtodaraḥ ||
mandapradīpakiraṇe tasyā vasatimandire |
nyastaḥ piṣṭamayo viṣṇuḥ kṣapāyāṃ kṣapitastayā |
duḥsampādeapi sampanne dohadeasminnupāyataḥ |

Here we find queen Mṛgāvatī, the mother of Udayana, trying to find out from Vāsavadattā what pregnancy wish she has. The latter replies to her that her wish is something impossible to obtain. In reply to this Mṛgāvatī narrates the story of king Ugrasena of Mathurā and his wife Manoramā, to illustrate how nothing is impossible for resourceful kings. Here it is said that when queen Manoramā was strolling in a garden a emon called Drumila, saw her and assuming the form of Ugrasena, united with her. As a result, the queen conceived a child and developed a pregnancy wish to eat the flesh and blood

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18. *Bkss.* V. 179. ff,

of Lord Viṣṇu. Hearing this, king Ugrasena devised an artificial image of Viṣṇu made of flour with the flesh of a ram in its belly and thus the longing of the queen was satisfied in the dim light of a burning lamp.

In the *Vh*[19]. also we find the following story about Ugrasena.

"An ascetic who had a grudge against king Uggasena (Ugrasena) for not being treated properly by him, with the desire of being able to destroy him in his next birth as a reward for his austerities and was conceived in the womb of Uggasena's wife. Three months after conception, she had a pregnancy longing to eat the flesh (balimāṃsa) of the king's stomach. In order to obtain the tasty flesh of the king, the ministers prepared a cloth having the colour of the flesh of the king, and keeping it within the sight of the queen, they covered the king's stomach with it and cut a piece of flesh from the stomach. This was taken to the queen who ate the flesh and fulfilled her longing.

In this case we see that the pasage of the *Bkss*. and the *Vh*. help us to understand the allusion made in the passage of the *Pk*.

The fulfilment of Vācavatattai's Pregnancy wish

After knowing the desire of his wife to travel in the sky like celestial beings, Utayaṇaṉ consults his ministers about the means by which it can be satisfied. According to the *Pk*. Urumaṇṇuvā then suggests that Utayaṇaṉ should think of Nañcukaṉ the celestial being, who had earlier assured him of his help in any emergency[20]. when Utayaṇaṉ thinks of Nañcukaṉ he appears in front of him and Utayaṇaṉ tells him that he wants his help in accomplishing a task which was beyond his own capacity. He then him tells about the pregnancy wish of Vācavatattai. Having listened to that, Nañcukaṉ tells him the story of Pattirāpati (Bhadrāvātī) and her interest in his welfare. The story of Bhadrāvatī occurs both in the *Pk* and the *Bkss* and

19. Jain. J. C., *op. cit*, pp. 550 ff.

20. *Pk*. 5 : 2 : 8 ff

shows many closely similar features. The story of Pattirāpati[21] is narrated in the Naravāṇakāṇṭam of the *Pk.* and a summary of this is given below.

"Pattirāpati is one of the dancing girls in the court of Kubera who resides on the Mountain 'Paruppatam' which is situated on the bank of river 'Narumatai' (Narmadā). Once, on the order of Kubera, she goes to the forest with her friends. There, in the forest 'Ālaṅkāṉam' (banyan forest) she finds a male elephant with flowing rut being fanned and tended by a herd of female elephants with bunches of flowers, leaves twigs, etc. The elephant then caresses with his trunk and sports with a young female elephant. Seeing this, Pattirāpati thinks to herself: "O, it is desirable even to be born as an elephant". With this thought in her mind she goes back to the court of Kubera after playing with her friends in the forest. Though a few subsequent lines are missing in the text, from the continuity of the context, we understand that Kubera comes to know what was passing in her mind by his Avadhigñāna, and curses her to be born as a female elephant and sport with the male elephant in the human world. Pattirāpati then appeals to him and asks him when she would be released from the curse. Kubera tells her that she would be among the she-elephants in the palace of king Piraccōtaṉan (Pradyota) and would be presented to Utayaṇaṉ by Piraccōtaṉaṉ during the water festival in Uccayini. Later she would carry Utayaṇaṉ and Vācavatattai to Kōcampi and die on the way due to the disease called *Kālakūṭam*. At the moment of of her death Utayaṇaṉ would whisper the Pañcanamaskāra in her ears and thus secure her release from the curse.

After Pattirāpati is redeemed from her birth as a she-elephant at the end of her curse in this manner she returns back to the court of Kupēraṉ. She wants to repay her debt of gratitude to Utayaṇaṉ and pleads with Kubera to bless Utayaṇaṉ with an illustrious son. Agreeing to her request Kubera then appeals to Cautarumēntiraṉ (Saudharmendra). Cautarumēntiraṉ then summons Cētavaṉ, a sage who had been performing penance

21. *Ibid*, 5 : 3 : 52-210.

in order to be born in the race of the Bharatas with a divine body and enjoy pleasures in the world and then obtain supremacy over the world of Vidyādharas. Cautarumēntiraṉ tells him that in accordance with his wish, this was the destined hour when he should be conceived again in the womb of Vācavatattai and achieve the fruits of his penance and Nidāna (death wish). Cautarumēntiraṉ also orders Cōtavaṉ to give Utayaṇaṉ in his dream a white lotus flower within which a white bull lay in order that Utayaṇaṉ might be able to know in advance about the birth of his son and his destiny as the future Vidyādhara emperor. Then, at the request of Cōtavaṉ, Pattirāpati appears before Utayaṇaṉ in his dream and taking him to Kubera's abode, presents him with a white lotus flower.

After informing Utayaṇaṉ about all this, Nañcukaṉ directs him to seek the help of Pattirāpati to accomplish the object of his queen's desire. In the meantime, the ministers of Utayaṇaṉ send for all the carpenters in the kingdom and ask them to construct a machine which can be used to fly in the sky. All the carpenters express their inablity to do so. Just then Pattirāpati arrives there in the guise of a carpenter and constructs a machine. Utayaṇaṉ and Vācavatattai get into it and fly over the countries of Makatam (Magadha), Avanti and many other lands and return to Kōcāmpi. Afterwards Utayaṇan calls the carpenter in order to reward him suitably for constructing the flying machine. Then Pattirāpāti reveals her identity to him, narrates all the earlier incidents and returns to her place, after blessing him. Utayaṇaṉ names the entrance to his palace after Pāttirāpati and offers worship to her.

This story occurs in the same context in the *Bkss*. in a more condensed form with some minor changes[22], For example Nañcukaṉ does not appear in the *Bkss*. When the ministers of Udayaṇaṉ consult the carpenters about building a contrivance which can fly, they reply that only the Yavanas know such mechanisms. A brahmin who is present says that the carpenters must be forced to do the job and narrates the story of a carpenter named Viśvila.

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22. *Bkss*, V. 301 ff.

Just then Bhadrā appears in the form of a stranger and builds a flying machine. The king gets into it and visits Magadha and Avanti with his queens, salutes Darśaka and Mahāsena (Pradyota) and then returns home. The carpenter who is then summoned by him to accept a reward suddenly assumes the form of a celestial maiden and narrates her story. The main features of this story are the same as in the *Pk*. There are however the following minor differences. In the *Bkss*. Bhadrā who sees the male elephant in a pond in the forest among its consorts actually assumes the form of a she-elephant and sports there before returning to the abode of Kubera. Kubera is then struck by her absent-mindedness when she is fanning him with a cāmara and therefore she is cursed by him to be born as a she-elephant in the human world. Pūrṇabhadra who is present there intercedes on her behalf and is also cursed by Kubera to be born as the male elephant, Nalagiri, along with Bhadrā in Ujjayinī. Later during the flight of Udayana and Vāsavadattā from Ujjayinī on the back of the elephant, Bhadrāvatī, the latter dies on the way and we are simply told that Udayana grieved over her loss as if his own wife was dead; This is said to be the reason for Bhadra's interest in his welfare.

The incident of the Pañcamaskāra as found in the *Pk*. does not occur in the *Bkss*. So also the incidents connected with the ascetic Cōtavaṉ, his Nidāna and his conception in the womb of Vācavatattai as Naravāṇatattaṉ under the order of Cautarumēntiraṉ are not found in the *Bkss*.

We note in passing that the Bhadrāvatī story does not occur in this context in the Kashmerian versions, but at the time of the death of the elephant Bhadrāvatī[23]. We are told that Udayana and Vāsavadattā hear a celestial voice which tells them that the elephant was originally a Vidyādharī named Māyāvatī who was undergoing a curse. The voice also promises that she would help their son in future. This promise is also given by Bhadrā in the *Bkss*[24]. But such an incident in which Bhadrāvatī helps

23. *Kss*. 2 : 5 : 32-36.
24. *Bkss*. V : 316 ff.

Naravāhanadatta is not found in any of the versions. Further in the Kathasaritsāgara before the birth of Naravāhanadatta Śiva appears before Vāsavadattā in a dream and predicts that she would give birth to a son who would be the future emperor of the Vidyādharas. This only confirms Penzer's[25] remark that the Kashmerian compilers have altered the name of the deity whom Udayana worshipped. It could have been only Kubera whom he worshipped because Naravāhanadatta means "given by Naravāhana", and Naravāhana is one of Kubera's and not Śiva's titles. The *Bkss.* actually states that Udayana propitiated Kubera in order to be blessed with a son.

The foregoing analysis clearly establishes the close similarity between the *Pk*, the *Bkss.* and occasionally the *Vh.* Besides, the importance of a comparative analysis[26] of all related works for a proper understanding of the text of the *Pk* has been illustrated.

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25. Tawney and Penzer. The Ocean of Story (Translation of Somadeva's Kathāsaritsāgara), Vol. 9, Penzer's terminal essay (London, 1929), p. 119.

26. A shorter analysis of this subject has already been published by the author under the title '*The birth of Naravāhaṇadatta—A comparative study of the accounts found in the Peruṅkatai and the Bṛhatkathāślokasaṅgraha*, Papers on Tamil studies, (International Institute of Tamil studies, Madras, 1980) pp. 114-129.

CHAPTER V

An analysis of the story of Utayaṇaṉ in the Peruṅkatai from the Historical and Geographical points of view

In the preceding chapter we have pointed out the close similarity between the *Pk.* and the *Bkss.* in those parts of the text where a rigorous comparative study can be carried out. Where such a comparison is not possible, it is still possible for us to discern agreement between the *Pk.* and one or more Sanskrit, Prākrit or Pāli works which were probably inspired by the *Bk.* of Guṇāḍhya. In addition to this, there are many parts of the story in which the *Pk.* serves as a valuable and unique source of detailed information which throws light on many cryptic and apparently unintelligible allusions which are found in the other works. These features have been discussed in detail in the third chapter. Hence we are led to concur with the following assessment made by Donald Nelson[1]:

(i) The *Pk.* suggests that Udayana was far more important in the *Ur*-Bṛhatakathā than the other versions would show.

(ii) The *Pk.* is important for its corroboration of the *Bkss.* in the matter of the link episodes.

It is our aim to show in the course of this chapter that the narrative of the *Pk.* is authentic also from the "historical" and 'geographical' points of view.

Utayaṇaṉ as a historical personage :

Apart from being the hero of a legend full of romance and colour, Utayaṇaṉ is celebrated as an illustrious king of 'that great period of ferment when Jainism and Buddism were born'[2]. We

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1. Donald Nelson, *Bṛhatkatha studies. The Tamil version of the Bṛhatkatha. op.-cit.* p. 233.

2. *Ibid.* p. 232.

know on the authority of the Pāli works[3] that he was a contemporary of lord Buddha and therefore lived sometime in the later half of the sixth and the early half of the fifth centuries B.C. The tradition of the Jainas, who have preserved the complete itinerary of Lord Mahavira after he became a monk, also leads us to the same conclusion. We thus find that Śatānika (Sayāṇiya in Prākrit) who was the father of Udayana, king Śreṇika (Bimbisāra, Seṇiya in Prākrit) of Magadha and Prasenajit, (Pasenadi in Prakrit) the king of Kośala, belonged to the same generation. Kuṇika (Ajātaśatru, Kuṇika in Prākrit) of Magadha, Vidūdabha, the son and successor of Prasenajit, and Pradyota, (Pajjoya in Prakrit) the king of Avanti, belonged to the next generation. And Udayana, Pālaka, the son of Pradyota, and Darśaka, the king of Magadha, belonged to the third generation and were of the same order of age[4]. A completely independent testimony is provided by the dynastic lists of the kings of the Kali age as found in many Puraṇas[5]. They affirm that Śatānika and Udayana hailed from the family of the Pauravas, after Parīkṣit II and Janameyaja III. Similarly the existance of a king named Darśaka in the list of the kings of Magadha, after Ajātaśatru is also corroborated by the reference to him in the purāṇic list[6]. The *Bhagavatī Sūtra*, a Jain text, states that Udayana was the grandson of king Sahasrānika of Kauśāmbī, the son of king Śatānika and his queen Mṛgāvatī who was the daughter of king Ceṭaka[7].

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3. For a discussion, see Lacote, *op. cit*, pp. 173 ff. and Niti Adaval, *op. cit.* pp. 3-6.

4. *Kalpasūtra*, com. Samayasundara, (Bombay, 1939) transl. H. Jacobi, Sacred Books of the East, XXII, 1884. TI–5.123.

5. Pargitar, F. E. *The Purāṇa text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, (Oxford, 1913), p. 4. ff.

6. *Ibid.* p. 21.

7. *Bhagavatisūtra*, (Published by Dhanapatisimha Bahadur, Banares, 1938) Śataka 12, uddeśa 1, v. 986.

Of particular siginficance is the reference made in the *Pk*. and other South Indian works following its tradition, that Udayana belonged to the royal Eyar family. The explanation for this statement is to be found in the fact that he was the maternal grandson of king Ceṭaka who had renounced his kingdom and become an ascetic performing penance in the hill called Vipulam at the time of the birth of Udayana. His name is given by *Uc*. as Ceṭaka. The Jaina work in Apabhramsa called *Mṛgāvatī Rāsa* also states that Mṛgāvatī, the mother of Udayana, was the daughter of king Ceṭaka of the Vaiśāli republic and the chief consort of king Śatānīka of Kauśambī.[8] Ceṭaka is a well known figure in Jāina literature. His sister, Tisalā, was the mother of Lord Mahāvīra. The *Uttarapurāṇa* contains the following account of Ceṭaka and his daughters.[9]

In the city of Vaiśāli was king Ceṭaka whose wife was Subhadrā They had ten sons with the names Dhanadatta, Dhanabhadra, Upendra, Sudatta, Siṃhabhadra, Sukumbhoja, Akampana, Patāṅgaka, Prabhañjana and Prabhāsa. They also had seven daughters called Priyakāriṇī, Mṛgāvatī, Suprabhā, Prabhāvatī, Cellinī, Jyeṣṭā and Candanā. The *Āvaśyaka cūrṇi* also contains a similar but slightly different list of the daughters of Cēṭaka.[10] It also states that, among them, Pabhavatī was married to Uddāyana :of Vīibhaya, Paumāvatī to Dadhivāhana of Campā, Migāvatī to Sayānīya of Kōsāmbī, Śiva to Pajjoya of Ujjeṇi and Jeṭṭha to Nandivaddhaṇa of Kuṇḍaggāma. Sujjeṭṭhā renounced the world and the youngest, Cellaṇā married Seṇiya of Rāyagiha.

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8. Niti Adaval. *op. cit.* p. 34.

9. Guṇabhadra, *Uttarapurāṇa*, ed. Pannalal Jain, (Bhāratiya Jñānapīṭha, Murtidevi Jaina Granthamālā, Sanskrit Grantha No. 14. 2nd edition (Banares, 1968), Para 75. v. 3 ff.

10. Deo. S. B. *History of Jaina Monachism (from inscriptions and literature)*, (Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, June, 1954 - March 1955, Poona), p. 71, foot note 108.

The frequent reference to Udayana (Utayaṉaṉ) in the *Pk.* as 'Ēyar Perumakaṉ' and the allusion to him in the *Bkss* [11] as 'the lord of the Cedi and the Vatsa countries' can be understood only in the context of his relationship to Cetaka, who belonged to the Haihaya line of kings who were traditionally associated with the Cedi country. This also explains why Rumaṇvān praises the glory of the Haihaya family when talking to Naravāhanadattā as 'haihayānāṃ kulaṃ tuṅgaṃ'[12] in the *Bkss*. On the basis of the foregoing account of the matrimonial alliances which king Ceṭaka had with almost all the important monarchs of North India, we see that the story of Udayana is synonymous with the story of all the royal families of his time in Northern India.

The Romance between Utayaṉaṉ and Vācavatattai

Perhaps the most celebrated romance in ancient Indian literature was that between Udayana and Vāsavadattā. It has been alluded to by Kālidasa in his Meghadūta[13] in the following verse, occurring in the portion describing the city of Ujjajinī.

Prdyotasya priyaduhitaraṃ vatsarājo'tra jahre
haimaṃ tāḷa druma vanamabhūdatra tasyaivarājñaḥ |
atrodbhrantaḥ kila naḷagiriḥ sthaṃbhaṃ utpāṭya darpa
dityāgantūn ramayati jano yatra bandhūnabhigñaḥ ||

(Where the people of the city entertain their visitors by showing them the spots where the king of the Vatsas kidnapped the beloved daughter of Pradyota, where the golden palm groves of that king stood, and where (the elephant), Nalagiri, uprooted the pillar posts, out of wantonness).

In Tamil literature belonging approximately to the 8th century A.D, we find allusions to the same episode. Thus the author of the Maṇimēkalai[14] talks of the reaction of the people

11. *Bkss.* V. 56, VI : 5,
12. *Ibid.* VII : 64.
13. Kalidasa, *Meghadūta,* Pūrvamegha. v. 34.
14. *Maṇimēkalai,* 15 : 61-66.

in the streets of Ujjayinī at the sight of Yūki, who roamed about in the disguise of a man afflicted by a dreadful disease, in order to secure the release of the king of the Vatsa country from imprisonment :

Koṭik kōcampik kōmakaṉakiya
vaṭittēri tāṉai Vattavaṉ ṟannai
vañcañceytuḷi vāṉṟaḷai viṭiiya
Uñcaiyiṟṟōṉṟiya Yūkiy antaṇaṉ
uruvukk ovvāv uṟu nōy kaṇṭu
parivuṟu mākkaḷiṉ...............

"Here gathered around her (Maṇimakēlai) a crowd, much like the crowd which had collected around Yaugandharāyaṇa, when he assumed the disgusting disguise of a man suffering from disease, and entered the streets of Uccayiṉi, for the purpose of releasing Utayaṉaṉ, his master, from the prison into which Piraccōtaṉaṉ (Pradyota the king, had thrown him.)

We also find Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār referring to the public scorn which Vāsavadattā faced when she went behind Udayana who was being led along the streets of Ujjayinī with his feet fettered by an iron chain.[15]

Varar vaṉamulai vācavatattai yeṉṟ-
arāṉuñ collappaṭuvāḷavaḷum taṉ
pērayamellāmoḻiyap perun teruvē
tarar taṭantōḷ taḷaikkalaṉpiṉ pōṉāḷ
ūrar ikaḻntiṭappaṭṭāḷē.............

(Vācavatattai who followed Udayana, the captive king, in the streets of Ujjayini, leaving behind her retinue, became the object of public scorn.)

15. Tirumaṅkai Āḻvār, Iyaṟpā, Ciṟiyatirumaṭal, Nālāyirat-tivviyappirapantam. ed. Mayilai Mātavatācaṉ, 2nd edition, (Madras, 1902), p. 549 lines 66-71.

As we have already noticed, Pradyōta, the king of Avanti, was also known as Mahāsena and references to him and in particular to his bad temper which earned him the tittle of Caṇḍa Pradyota or Caṇḍa Mahāsena, occur in the Buddhist and Jaina texts of this period.[16] The Puranic lists of kings also mention him and his son Pālaka (or Bālaka)[17] but curiously, they place him among the kings of Magadha and state that he preceded Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru of the Śaiśunāga dynasty by several generations. The Kashmerian works accordingly refer to Pradyota as the father of Padmāvatī while the father of Vāsavadattā is called Mahāsena ! Lacote has already considered this point and has concluded that "apart from the Kashmerian edition, Pradyota of Magadha, does not exist at all."[18] This is again a point in which the version of the *Pk.* is in agreement with the historically more accurate testimony of the *Bkss.* and of the Prākrit and Pāli texts.

The route taken by Utayaṉaṉ on his escape from Uccayiṉi

Koṅkuvēlir has devoted several sections to the description of the landscape along the route taken by Utayaṉaṉ and Vācavatattai when the former escaped from the city of Uccayiṉi on the back of the elephant (Bhadravatī). We have already summarised this description in chapter three.[19] The location of the city of Cayanti (Jayantī) which was the ultimate destination of Utayaṉaṉ during his escapade cannot be fixed with any certainty. We may infer that it was inside the Vatsa country, close to the border which it shared with the Magadha kingdom, from the following reference found in the Vattavakāṇṭam of the *Pk.*[20]

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16. See, for instance, Niti Aḍaval, *op. cit.* p. 7–8.

17. Pargiter, F. E. *op. cit.* pp. 18-19.

18. Lacote F. 'La Source de la Vāsavadattā Bhasā *Journal Asiatique*, (Torne 13, 1919). pp. 493–525.

19. *Supra* pp. 78–80.

20. *Pk.* 4 : 9 : 21–22.

"...
cayantiyam patiyum payampaṭu caral
ilāvāṇakamu nilava niṟiik
...."

Here the author states that Utayaṇaṉ installed Urumaṇṇuvā in the city of Cayanti, and in the Ilāvāṇaka territory, which was situated among hilly slopes. We find the following reference to a city called Jayantī in Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣcarita[21].

"The Vaitaḍhya mountain which was four hundred miles long, touching the rivers, Ganga and Sindhu, on either side, was given as dominion to Nami and Vinami by Dharaṇendra, the protecting deity of the first Jaina Tirthaṅkara, Ādinātha. Nami occupied the Southern Vaitāḍhya and founded fifty cities including Jayantī and Rathanūpuracakravāla".

Regarding the location of the mountain called Vaitāḍhya[22] we may anticipate the arguments given in the next chapter and surmise that, contrary to what has been held so far, it was identical with the Vindhya range of mountains. We do not know whether the city of Jayantī mentioned here is identical with the town of the same name occurring in the *Pk.*

Still we may safely conclude that Utayaṇaṉ had travelled eastwards from Uccayiṉi. Till he crossed the Narumatai (Narmadā) river he is said to have travelled along the fields in the plains (Marutanilam), then through forest tracks into the hilly region of the Vindhya mountains through which the river, Narumatai flowed. We know from the Meghadūta[23] that the city of Ujjayini was situated in a region through which several rivers flowed viz. Nirvindhyā, Sindhu, Siprā, Gandhavatī, Gambhīrā etc. This region would no doubt have been a fertile agricultural

21. Hemacandra, *Triṣaṣṭiśalakāpuruṣacarita*, translated by H. M. Johnson, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, (Baroda' 1930), p. 173 ff.

22. *Infra*, chapter VI.

23. *Meghadūta*, Pūrvamegha, vv. 29, 30, 32. 36, 43.

area The transition from the plains to the steep Vindhya mountains would neccssarily involve the presence of large forest tracts. The course of the elephant Bhadrāvatī, as described in the *Pk.* is thus seen to have a factual basis. It is not as if the author wished to follow an established literary convention of describing the five different kinds of landscape and hence introduced these descriptions in his narrative. This is also the reason why a description of the Neytal country does not occur, since the route taken by Utayaṇaṉ and Vācavatattai was well away from the coastal area, being directed eastwards from Ujjayinī.

Soon after crossing the river, Narmadā, probably somewhere close to its source at Āmarkaṇṭak, Utayaṇaṉ had to travel through arid, lands till he was confronted by the Śabaras and Puḷindas[24]. This again lends a touch of realism to the narrative since we know that the Śabaras and Puḷindas were the hunting tribes who occupied the Vindhya forests from ancient times, as testified by the Brāhmaṇas and the Mahābhārata[25]. The sites of the towns called Aruṭṭam and Puṭpakam which are mentioned by Koṅkuvēḷir as lying on the route between Uccayiṉi and Cayanti cannot be identified by us. We are however informed in the Vattavakāṇṭam that Iṭapakaṉ received as a gift from Utayaṇaṉ, fifty townships in the Aṭavi territory and was asked to stay in charge of the city of Puṭpakam.[26] The Āṭavyas ie. the people of the Aṭavi territory are mentioned together with the Śabaras in the Puranic list[27]. From this we may infer that Puṭpakam was situated a little to the north east of Vindhya forests adjoining the Narmadā river.

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24. *Pk.* 1 : 55.

25. *Aitareya Brahmaṇa*, VII; 18, 2; Mahābharata, I, 174, 37, Sāntiparva, 207, 42.

26. *Supra.* chapter III. p. 36.

27. Sudama Misra, *Janapada States in Ancient India*, (Vāranasī, 1973). p. 78.

Caṅka (Saṅgha) Maṉṉar - the confederacy of kings who opposed king Tarucakaṉ (Darśaka).

Next we pass on to an examination of the names of the kings who formed a confederacy to confront the powerful king of Magadha. At least some of these names may be shown not to be fictitious. Thus 'Eliccevi' may be readily seen to be the rendering into Tamil of the term 'Licchavi'. The name 'Mallaṉ' refers to a member of the 'Malla' line of kings. The Licchavis and the Mallas are well known as the names of two prominent families in North Eastern India at the time of Buddha and Mahāvīra. Together they formed, along with a few other kings, a powerful confederacy of kings which was known as 'Vajjis'.[28] 'Vēcāli' is again the Tamil form of Vaiśāli, which was a town in North Eastern India.[29] It is identical with Modern Besarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar. 'Aṭavi' may also be identified with a kingdom in Central India adjoining the coast of Orissa.[30] It thus becomes clear that the situation described in the *Pk.* is one in which a large number of subordinate kings belonging to different parts of Northern and Central India rose up against the supremacy of the Magadhan empire. It has already been mentioned that the predecessor of Darśaka (Tarucakaṉ) was Ajātaśatru. He was a powerful emperor who brought a large part of the above areas under his control. Soon after the succession of Darśaka to the throne of the Magadhan empire, these kings perhaps invaded Rājagiri jointly in a bid to destroy the supremacy of the Magadhan empire.

The mention of the city of Rājagiri as the capital of the Magadha kingdom at this time is also in conformity with the known facts of history. This ancient city[31] is believed to have

28. *Infra*. pp. 147, 149.

29. Cunningham. *Ancient Geography of India*, I, The Buddhist period, (Varanasi 1963), p. 373–376.

30. *Supra*. p. 144.

31. Vincent A. Smith, *The Early History of India* 4th edition, (Oxford, 1967) p. 32.

been founded by Jarāsandha and was encircled by five hills, one of which is Vipulam mentioned in the Mahābhārata as well as in the Buddhist and Jaina works.[32] According to the *Pk.* it was in a banyan grove on the slopes of this hill that Mṛgīvatī gave birth to Udayana. In the Jaina Sutras, it is mentioned as a holy place where a number of monks practised penance and attained liberation.[33]

The battle between Utayaṇaṉ and Āruṇi

The ancestral home of Udayana has been unanimously said to have been the city of Kauśāmbī which was situated on the banks of the river Yamunā. During the captivity of Utayaṇaṉ in Uccayiṉi by king Piraccōtaṉaṉ, the Vatsa kingdom is said to have been seized by a king named Āruṇi of the Pāñcāla country. We have already discussed the references to this event and the subsequent victory of Utayaṇaṉ over him in chapter three.[34] The *Bkss.* also refers to the occupation of Kauśāmbī by Āruṇi in the absence of Udayana. The country of Pāñcāla may be seen to adjoin the Vatsa kingdom which had Kauśāmbī as its capital city from Map II.[35] The name Āruṇi may also be traced to the post-Vedic literature in which the celebrated philosopher Uddālaka Āruṇi Pāñcālya is mentioned[36]. This term means that he belonged to the Pāñcāla country and was the son of Aruṇa Aupaveśi Gautama. It appears probable that the name Āruṇi was a patronym which was held by the members of the Pāñcāla clan who were descendants of Aruṇa.

In the *Pk* we find that a minister of king Tarucakaṉ, by name Varuṭakāraṉ, plays a prominent role in assisting Utayaṇaṉ in his onslaught against the Pāñcāla king. We find that 'Vassakāra'

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32. Cunningham *op.cit.* pp. 390, 391.
33. Jain J. C. *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons*, (Bombay, 1947) p. 357. see also foot note 984.
34. *Supra.* pp. 97–101.
35. *Infra.* p. 156.
36. Pargiter F. E. Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, 3rd edition (Delhi, 1972), pp. 327–30.

which is the Prākrit and Pāli form of the Sanskrit term, 'Varṣakāra' and 'Varuṭakāraṉ' in Tamil, is the name of a historical figure who was reputed to have been the minister of king Ajātaśatru of Magadha[37]. The name is said to have the meaning 'he who wins over'. According to the Buddhist tradition the Licchavi tribe and their confederacy with the Malla kings were broken up from within, by a techinique carefully described in the great book of Magadhan statecraft viz. the Arthasāstra. A brahmin minister or Ajātāśatru (Vassakāra) went over to the Licchavis in simulated disgrace. Though the Licchavis and the Mallas had no brahmins within their tribes and followed no Vedic practices, the guest's status, prestige, and supposed knowledge of the Magadhan king's intentions made him welcome. He utilised their trust to set one oligarch against another, to encourage each Licchavi to demand more than his allotted share, and to make the tribe neglect tribal meetings, the collective army drills and the tribes' judicial assemblies. Having thus succeeded in sowing the seeds of dissension among his powerful antagonists through his minister, Vassakāra, Ajātaśatru was able to ultimately destroy the powerful Licchavi kings.

These incidents have also been described in detail in several Jaina texts, in particular in the Bhagavatīsūtra.[38] Their account is summarised below :

Among the sixteen great states the most famous ones of north eastern India were Kāśi, Kośala, Vajji (Vṛjji) and Magadha which flourished during the time of Lord Mahāvīra. The most important factor in the political condition of this period was the quadrangular struggle among these four states for

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37. Kosambi. D. D. *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient India in historical outline*, 4th edition. (Vikas Publishing house, Delhi 1976) p. 130.

38. Sikdar. J. C. *Studies in the Bhagavatīsūtra*, Prakrit Jain Institute Research Publications series vol. I (Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa, Bihar 1964) pp. 70, 71, 130, 131, 377.

establishing their political suzerainty. The military power of the Vṛjji confederation was growing under the leadership of king Ceṭaka of Vaiśāli, united together with his allies who were the nine Mallakis (of the Malla clan), nine Licchavis, Kāśi, Kośala and their eighteen republican chiefs (gaṇarājās). On the other side, the aggressive monarchy of Magadha under its ambitious ruler, Videhaputra king Kuṇika (Ajātaśatru), was following a policy of expansion and self-aggrandisement from his base at Rājagṛha. It is said in the Niryāvalīya Sutra that the immediate cause of a great conflict between these two powers was the gift of a state elephant, 'Seyaṇaga' (Secanaka) i.e. sprinkler, and a necklace of eighteen strings of jewels, made by king Seṇiya (Bimbisāra) to his younger sons, Halla and Behalla. On his ascendancy to royal power after the usurpation of his father's throne, king Kuṇika demanded the surrender of these two gifts from his younger brothers. They refused to give them up and they immediately escaped with them to their maternal grandfather, king Ceṭaka. Kuṇika sent his ambassador thrice to the court of Ceṭaka for demanding the peaceful extradition of the two gifts, but king Ceṭaka refused to give them up. So Kuṇika declared war against Vaiśāli.

The Buddhist commentary, Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, however states that the violation of an economic agreement on the part of the Licchavis, regarding the condomnium exercised by them and king Kuṇika over a mine of precious gems in the vicinity of a port situated on the bank of the Ganges, led to the war. It is said in the Mahāparinirvāṇa Suttānta that after resolving to root out the Vajjians, Ajātasattu ordered the brahmin prime minister, Vassakāra, to go to the Buddha and inform him of his decision. The Buddha then assured the Licchavis that they could not be conquered as long as they maintained internal concord in assembly and administration, avoiding revolutionary laws and measures, following old traditions, honouring the elders of the community, old institutions and shrines, saints and women. Kuṇika fully realised that it was impossible to conquer the Licchavis in a straight fight without disrupting and destroying the strength of their inner unity. So he charged his prime minister, Vassakāra, with the secret mission of sowing the seeds of dissension

and disunion among the Vaiśālians. The mission was crowned with success after three years. Infected by the poison of hatred and jealousy spread by Vassakāra among them, the Licchavis of Vaiśāli lost their social and national unity and efficiency. Kuṇika availed himself of this opportunity to wage war against them. But Ceṭaka, on the apprehension of the impending war to be waged by Kuṇika against Vaiśālī, summoned the assembly of nine Mallakis, nine Licchavis, the rulers of Kāśi, Kōśala and their eighteen republican chiefs also. Two fierce wars called Mahāśilā kaṇṭaka saṅgrāma and Rathamusala saṅgrāma were fought. In these wars Kuṇika was able to inflict a crushing defeat on the Vajjian confederacy.

The account of the role played by Varuṭakāraṉ in the campaign of Utayaṇaṉ against Āruṇi as described in the *Pk.* could well have been based on actual incidents which took place during the reign of king Darśaka who was the successor of Kuṇika Ajītaśatru to the throne of Magadha. It is also equally probable that Koṅkuvēḷir has followed here the narration of Guṇāḍhya in the original *Bk.* in which the latter had introduced a well known legend connected with Vassakāra (Varuṭakāraṉ).

We now turn to a discussion of the location of the various places in which the action of the story took place.

Kauśāmbī (Kōcampi) and the Vatsa (Vattava) kingdom.

The capital city of Udayana, Kauśambī has been identified as the village of Kosam, about thirty miles away from Allahabad across the fields. (See map II). It seems to have been on the northern bank of the river, Yamunā, at a point about four hundred miles by road from Ujjayinī and about two hundred and thirty miles up-stream from Benares.

Cunningham[39] who tried to identify the geographical location of Kośāmbī was hampered by the lack of direct evidence to show that the city was situated on the bank of the river Yamunā. He was therefore forced to rely on a local legend of one Bakkula for this purpose. This would have been

39. Cunningham *op. cit.* pp. 330 ff.

unnecessary if the *Pk* version of the Udayana story had been known at that time since there are at least two clear references in the text of the *Pk.* to the fact that the city of Kōcāmpi was situated on Yamuṉai. The first of these is in the passage in which Cāṅkiyattāy who was earlier living in Kōcāmpi explains the story of her early life to Utayaṇaṉ. This passage reads as follows :

....
Paitaṟ pampaiy iṭaṅkaṉerukki
maṉaṟ kuṭam pūṭṭi māṉir Yamuṉai
iṭaikkayatt aḻunta vitiiya celvuḻip
..................................[40]

(When I was led towards the river Yamuṉai by the executioners of king Satāṉikaṉ in order to to be drowned there (as a punishment for my infidelity), after being made to carry a pot of sand, as the drums were being sounded ....).

The fact that Cāṅkiyattāy was living in Kōcāmpi and that she was led to be drowned in the river Yamuṉai makes it obvious that Kōcāmpi was situated on the bank of Yamuṉai.

The second reference occurs in the Makatakāṇṭam, when Vayantakaṉ announces the arrival of his brothers, Piṅkalaṉ and Kaṭakaṉ to Utayaṇaṉ.

....
piṉṉiṉaik kumarar piṅkala kaṭakar
iṉṉāk kālaiy eḷḷi vanta
paruma yāṉaip pāñcāla rāyaṉ
arumuraṇ aḻiya nūṟaliṉ avaṉamarkk
aṟṟār uṭaintu nōṟṟor oṭuṅkum
kuḷir nir yamuṉaik kuṇṭu kayam pāya[41]
....

(when your younger brothers, Piṅkalaṉ and Kaṭakaṉ, could not face the invading king of Pāñcāla (who invaded the city of

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40. *Pk.* 1 : 36 : 159-161.

41. *Pk.* 3 : 24 : 51–56.

Kōcāmpi), they took refuge in the deep waters of the river, Yamuṉai, in which people performing penances perform ablutions).

Here the idea is that the young princes were driven into the river by the invader, who was prevented from giving chase to them any further by the tradition that one does not fight with an enemy who has got into a river.

The above references occurring in the *Pk.* clearly show that Kōcāmpi was situated on the bank of Yamuṉai.

The Cedi kingdom

The Cedi kingdom which is said to have been ruled by Ceṭaka, the maternal grandfather of Udayana, corresponds to the modern Bundelkhand district in Central India[42]. The Kalacūri kings who ruled over Cedi are known to have belonged to the Haihaya line and are mentioned in an inscription as late as A. D. 1181.[43] In the period under our considerarion the Haihaya line of kings traced their lineage from the illustrious Kārtavīrya whose exploits are described in the purāṇas.[44] Śiśupāla, a well known character in the Mahābhārata, also belonged to this royal family.

Vaiśāli and the Videha Kingdom.

The Jaina accounts of king Ceṭaka however place him at the head of the Vajjian Confederacy of kings and princes who dominated the political scene of this period in the north eastern part of India viz. the Videha country with its capital at Vaiśāli. We find Bhāsa referring to Udayana as 'Vaidehi putra', a reference which can be understood only if we take Mṛgāvatī to have come

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42. Jain .J. C. *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons*. (Bombay, 1927) p. 276
43. Vincent. A. Smith, *op.cit*. p. 409.
44. Pargitar, F. E., *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 265 ff.
45. Bhāsa, Svapnavāsavadattam, Act VI.

from the Videha kingdom to the Vatsa country. The *Uc*[46] also refers to Vaiśāli as the capital city of Ceṭaka to which Uditodaya was taken by his maternal uncle called Prabhañjana in the days of his adolescence. We do not however know how the description of Ceṭaka as the head of the Vajjhis in north eastern India can be reconciled with his occupation of the Cedi kingdom in central India!

A clue to the situation is perhaps provided by the ancient historical tradition of the purānic and epic literature. We thus find the genealogy of the Haihaya branch of the Yādavas given by twelve purāṇas agreeing with each other generally[47]. Among them Arjuna Kārtavīrya was a very famous monarch who is called both a Samrāj and a Cakravartin. He raised the Haihaya power to preeminence, captured Māhiṣmatī from the Kārkoṭaka Nagas and made it his capital. His Conquest extended from the mouth of the river, Narmadā, to the Himālayas. Later he came into conflict with sage Jamadagni and his son, Paraśurāma, who killed him and slew many Haihayas. The Haihayas however continued to grow in power. At this time they comprised five leading groups: Vītihotras, Śāryātas, Bhojas, Avantis and Tuṇḍikeras. During this period, they attacked and raided the whole of north India upto the kingdoms of Vaiśālī and Videha. They were finally checked and destroyed by Sagara. After his death, the overthrown dynasties appear to have generally recovered themselves. It was at this time that Cidi, the son of Kaiśika founded the dynasty of Caidya kings in Cedi, the country lying along the south of the Yamunā river. King Ceṭaka, who belonged to this illustrious family, perhaps held sway over the Cedi country and in that capacity, came to be the chief of the Vajjis whose centre of power was in the north-eastern city of Vaiśali.

Ujjayinī and the Avanti kingdom

The position of the city of Ujjayinī which was ruled by Pradyota Mahāsena, the father of Vāsavadattā, hardly needs any identification, as the existence of the modern city of Ujjain

46. *Uc*. Paricchedas I, II.
47. Pargitar. F. E, Ancient Indian Historical Tradition p. 103.

leaves no scope for speculation in this regard. It was the capital city of the Avanti kingdom which coincided with the present Malwa territory. The *Pk.* mentions the Kāḷavaṉam i. e. the park adjoining the famous Mahākāla temple which has made the city of Ujjayinī an important religious centre down to this day. The poet, Kālidāsa, also talks of the Mahākāla temple in Ujjayinī in his Meghadūta[48] and describes how the Vatsa king stole away the beloved daughter of Pradyota and the elephant, Nalagiri, ran amuck and uprooted the pillar posts in the city.

Rājagiri and the Magadhan kingdom

After his marriage with Vācavatattai in the city of Cayanti, Utayāṉaṉ is taken to the Lāvāṇaka forest by his friends. Even though the position of this forest cannot be ascertained precisely, we are told that it was at the border of the Vatsa and the Magadha kingdoms[49]. From there Utayaṉaṉ and his companions left for the city of Rājagiri. Rājagiri corresponds to the modern Rajgarh situated North latitude 25° 2' and East longitde 85° 26'. It is about north east from Gaya and South east from Patna[50]. Until the establishment of Kusumapura or Pataliputra as the capital city of the Magadha kingdom under the reign of the Maurya kings, Rājagṛha was known to have been the capital of that kingdom.

Campā and the Aṅga kingdom

While Utayaṉaṉ went to Rājagiri, Yūki, Vācavatattai and Cāṅkiyattāy repaired to the city of Caṇpai i.e. Campā. This city is well known as the headquarters of the Aṅga kingdom which was included first among the ten ancient capitals of India.[51] It occupied territories in the east of the Magadha country and was separated from it by the river Campā, perhaps the modern Candanā river. The capital city of the Campā lay at the confluence of the Campā and the Ganges rivers and was

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48. Meghadūta, Uttaramegha, v. 37.
49. Niti Adaval, *op.cit.* p. 103.
50. Vincent, A. Smith, *op.cit.* p. 32.
51. Jain J. C. *Life in Ancient India* p. 275.

one of the most populous and ancient cities of ancient India. It may be identified with the modern village of Campānagar near Bhagalpur.

The Pāñcāla country of Āruṇi

This country came to be known as the kingdom of Kanauj in later days and may probably be identified with the doab between the Yamunā and the Ganges rivers, corresponding to the Farrukhabad district of the present Uttar Pradesh state[52]. Its contiguity to the Vatsa territory is therefore obvious and thus the invasion of Āruṇi over the city of Kauśāmbī in the absence of Udayana becomes plausible as an event caused by the traditional enmity between two neighbouring kings.

The Malla and Licchavi kingdoms.

Lastly we take note of the mention by Koṅkuvēḷir of the kings named Mallaṉ, and Eliccevi among those who came to attack Rājagiri. From Buddhistic records we come to know that there were two branches of the Mallas; the Mallas of Kuśīnara and the Mallas of Pāva. The Mahābhārata speaks of the Malla rāṣṭra and the Dakṣiṇa Mallas both of whom were defeated by Bhīmasena. Kuśīnara or Kuśavatī has been located near Kasia, while Pāva has been taken to correspond to Fazilpur, 10 miles south east of Kasia[53].

It has already been pointed out that Eliccevi is probably the Tamil form of the term 'Licchavi'. Buddhist sources inform us that the Ganges formed the boundary between the kingdom of Magadha and the country of the Licchavis, both of whom claimed equal rights over the river in the time of Ajātaśatru.

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52. Vincent. A. Smith. *op.cit*. pp. 228, 392.

53. Sudama Misra, *op.cit* pp. 72, 75.

The traditional capital of the Licchavi kings was Vaiśāli but we know that the Licchavi kings were uprooted by Ajātaśatru. This probably is the reason why Koṅkuvēḷir refers to Eliccevi as the king of Attiṇapuram i. e. Hastināpura.

It is thus clear that the narrative of the *Pk.* is not just a figment of the author's imagination but was most probably based on incidents which took place in northern, central and eastern India during the life time of Udayana. It is quite conceivable that Guṇāḍhya had incorporated these incidents in the *Bk.* and his account of these events formed the source book for the author of the *Pk.*

CHAPTER VI

The Mythological, Cosmological: Metaphysical, Ethical, Theological and Ritualistic Ideas of Jainism as reflected in the Peruṅkatai.

Unlike the Maṇimēkalai and the Cīvakacintāmaṇi which contain explicit allusions to and ideas from Buddhism and Jainism respectively, the *Pk.* does not have the appearance of a text with a primarily religious motivation. However, it appears pretty certain that in the *Pk.* we have a south Indian Jaina version of the Udayana story as contained in the original *Bk*. This conclusion is strengthened by the existence of the *Ukk.* and the *Uc.* which are undoubtedly works written by Jaina authors as explained in chapter I. We notice that the author's main aim is to narrate the story as faithfully as was possible for one attempting a rendering into Tamil of a North Indian story. However in the course of this narrative we do find ideas peculiar to Jainism strewn here and there, in a manner which leads one to believe that the main characters of the story belong to that religion. We examine this particular aspect of the *Pk.* now, since a comprehension of this aspect is vital to the proper appreciation of the text itself. Ideas which are of a peculiarly Jaina character which occur in the text of the *Pk.* may be conveniently classified under the following heads :

- i *Mythological and cosmological ideas.*
- ii *Metaphysical ideas*— These treat the relationship between the *soul* (jīva) and the *non-soul* (ajīva), which are the two basic realities in Jaina religious thought.
- iii *Ethical ideas* and the *doctrines* which would enable the soul to attain liberation.
- iv *Theological ideas*— According to Jainism, the Universe has not been created by a supreme being or God. But godliness may be achieved by all beings by attaining liberation from the eight Karmas and reaching the aloka. i.e. that which is beyond the Universe. The theological ideas therefore deal with the relationships between the soul and the liberated souls (arhats).
- v Ritualistic ideas.

Mythological and Cosmological Ideas

The observation by Alsdorf[1] that "what connects the *Bk.* with the mythology and cosmography of the Jains can be said in one word as the Vidyādharas" applies equally well to the *Pk.* The central theme of the *Bk.* viz. the conquest of the empire of the Vidyādharas by Naravāhanadatta is not described in the available text of the *Pk.* Yet, there are many references in the text to this event. We discuss them below.

1. After the disappearence of Vācavatattai who was allegedly burnt in a fire in the palace, Utayaṇan̲ (Udayana) reaches the Makata (Magadha) country and there falls in love with Patumāpati, the sister of king Tarucakan̲. Soon after his marriage with her, she asks him to play on the lute which he had used to give music lessons to Vācavatattai. This induces reminicences in the mind of Utayaṇan̲ of the happy days which he had spent in the company of Vācavatattai. He then has a dream which is interpreted by a sooth sayer[2] as portending the birth of a son to him and Vācavatattai, who would achieve supremacy over the empire of the Vidyādharas.

....
viḻup perun̄ ciṟappin̲ viñcaiyar ulakin̲
vaḻukkil cakkaram vala vayin̲ uykkum[3].
....

(In the land of Vidyādharas he will (roll his Āñjā cakra) have supremacy).

2. Later on Utayaṇan̲ who is reunited with Vācavatatta tells her of his dream and what it foretells, in order to explain the dream which she has also had in the meantime.

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1. Alsdorf. L. *Zur Geschichte der Jaina Kosmographie und Mythologie*, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morganlandischen Gesellschaft. Vol. 92. (Leipzig. 1938). p. 465.
2. *Pk.* 4 : 5. 84–122.
3. *Ibid.* 4 : 5 : 105–106.
4. *Ibid.* 5 : 1 : 161-163.

....

accam il aṟṟal ōr viccātarar iṭai
āḻiy uruṭṭum eṉṟ aṟintōr uraitta
viḻa viḻup poruḷ mey peṟak kaṇṭaṉai[4]
....

(you see that the unfailing statement that he, their future son, will roll the wheel (Āṇaiccakkaram) has been confirmed).

3. The same idea is also expressed by the Yakṣa, Nañcukaṉ, who comes to the assistance of Utayaṇaṉ who invokes his help as advised by Urumaṇṇuvā. Utayaṇaṉ tells Nañcukaṉ that he would like to have an aerial car built in order that his pregnant queen, Vācavatattai, may satisfy her wish (dohada) of flying in the air. In reply, Nañcukaṉ points out that the pregnancy wish of the queen is but the result of carrying in her womb the future emperor of the Vidyādharas.

....

viccātarar uṟaiy ulakam viḷaiyum
tiru makaṉā niṉ perumaṉaikkiḻatti
vayiṟṟakatt uṟainta nayapp uṟu putalvaṉ[5]
....

(The son who is in the womb of your wife is, one who desires the world where Vidyādharas reside).

It is noteworthy that the reason for Vācavatattai's pregnancy-wish is stated to be the same in this passage of the *Pk.* as well as in the *Kss.* and in the *Bkm*[6].

4. The events which paved the way for the birth of *Naravāṇatattaṉ* (Naravāhanadatta) are narrated in some detail in the *Pk.* The female elephant, Pattirāpati (Bhadrāvatī), who was none other than a courtesan in the court of Indra who had been born as a female elephant because of a curse, is freed from her curse and regains her former state thanks to Utayaṇaṉ who chants

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5. *Ibid.* 5 : 3 : 45-48
6. *Kss.* 4 : II (XXII) 9 ff.
Bkm. 4 : 45 ff.

the '*aimpatam*' (Pañcanamaskāra mantra) in her ears at the moment of her death. In return she intercedes with Indra to bless Utayaṇaṉ with an illustrious son. Indra orders Cōtarmēntiraṉ (Saudharmendra) to help. At the behest of the latter, an ascetic who is performing penance and has a ***death-wish*** (nidāna) to acquire suzerainity over the silver mountain. (i. e. the mountain of the Vidyādharas) is reborn as the son of Utayanaṉ. Cōtamaṉ orders the ascetic Cōtavaṉ to enter the womb of Vācavatattai in the following words:

"..................................

pāva nikkiya paratan piṟanta
āy perum tol kuṭit tōṉṟiy ippāl
macil viñcaiyar malaiy akant taḻii
āḻiy uruṭṭiy eṉ vayiṉ varūum"[7].

(you come back to me after having been born in the famous and ancient family of Parataṉ (Bharata) who was free from sin and after exerting your power (Āḻi–cakra i.e. Āñjā cakra) on the mountain of the faultless Vidyādharas).

Saudharmendra is the lord of one of the twelve heavens which, according to Jain cosmology, are situated above the world of human beings. These are *Saudharma*, *Iśana* *Sanatkumara*, *Māhendra*, *Brahmaloka*, *Lantaka*, *Śukra*, *Sahasrāra*, *Ānarta*, *Prāṇata*, *Āraṇa* and *Acyuta*. Of these, the first two rest on dense water; the next three on (dense) wind; the next-three on dense water and dense wind; above these, the heavens rest on (empty) space[8].

It may be mentioned in passing that we find in the ***Bkss***, a scene somewhat similar to this in the court of Kubera. When Udayana in his dream is transported by a celestial maiden into the presence of Kubera, one of the sages assembled there tells

7. *Pk.* 5 : 3 : 184–187.
8. *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, Vol. I, Ādīśvara carita Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LI, Translated into English by Helen M. Johnson ; (Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1931). pp. 398-9

another, pointing to him that the later should take birth as his son in the human world[9]. But, the *Pk.* version is much more detailed and more in accordance with Jaina concepts of how human births are preordained by wishes and Karmas in former births.

Besides the above references, at the end of the present text of the *Pk.* we find that Naravāhanadatta's bride, Mataṉamañcikai (Madanamañjukā) is forcibly carried away[10] while asleep by the Vidyādhara, Māṉacavēkaṉ (Mānasavega), thus ensuring a further encounter between Naravāṇaṉ and the Vidyādharas as in all the other versions of the *Bk.* We need not therefore have any doubt that the *Pk.* did contain an account of the conquest by Naravāhanadatta of the realm of the Vidyādharās. Before entering into further discussion about the Vidyādharas, we shall pass on to a discussion of some concepts peculiar to Jaina traditions and are connected with the mythological and cosmological ideas.

These deal with

i. Pregnancy-wish (dohada. (Skt.) Vayā. (Tamil).

ii. death-wish (Nidāna. (Skt) Nitāṉa—(Tamil)

iii. dreams and their significance

i Pregnancy wish :

When Vācavatattai has conceived Naravāṇaṉ, she has a longing to fly in the air. "This pregnancy wish is explained as being due to the fact that she has, in her womb, the future emperor of the Vidyadharās who have the capacity to fly through the air (khecara). Utayaṇaṉ who enquires Vācavatattai what she wants, assures her that he would fulfil her desire, whatever it may be. As an example of the fact that the pregnancy-wish of a

9. *Bkss.* V : 29–30

10. *Pk.* 5 : 9 : 95–105

11. *Ibid.* 5 : 1 : 180 ff.

wife should always be fulfilled by her husband at any cost, he narrates to her an incident.

> ....
> *kūṭiya koḻunaṉ koḻuṅ kuṭar micaikuṟa*
> *ōṭiyav uḷḷatt uyar tuṉait tēviyaik*
> *kuṟaiyiṟ kēṭṭuk koṭuttu nōy taṉitta*
> *maṟaiyil perum pukaḻ maṉṉavaṉ pōla*
> *eṉṉatāyiṉum ikuvaṉ*..................
> ....[12]

(Like the king of faultless fame, who found out the wish of his noble queen to eat the fatty intestine of her husband (i.e. himself) and satisfied her desire by giving it to her).

The allusion here is to the episode of king Ugrasena of Mathura and his queen. In the *Bkss.*[13] this story is narrated in the same context, in the words of Mṛgāvatī, the mother of Udayana. Here it is said[14] that when Ugrasena's queen (Manoramā by name) was strolling in the garden of the palace, a demon called Drumila saw her and, deceiving her by assuming the form of her husband, united with her. As a result, the queen became pregnant and developed a pregnancy-wish to eat the flesh and blood of Lord Viṣṇu. Hearing this, king Ugrasena devised an artificial image of Viṣṇu made of flour, with the flesh of a ram in its belly. Thus the longing of the queen was satisfied in the dim light of a burning lamp.

The *Vh.* which is the North Indian Jaina version of the *Bk.* also gives this story, but with slightly differing details which are as follows: "King Uggasena neglected to entertain an ascetic who therefore became inimical towards him. With the desire of getting a reward for his austerities the ascetic died with a wish to be reborn and cause the destruction of Uggasena and was conceived in the womb of Uggasena's wife. Three months after

12. *Pk.* 5 : 2 : 220–224.

13. *Bkss.* IV : 186-7.

14. Supra. p. 131 ff.

conception, she had a pregnancy-longing to eat the flesh (bali-māṃsa) of the king's stomach. In order to procure the tasty flesh of the king, the ministers prepared a cloth in the colour of flesh, and keeping it within sight of the queen, they covered the king's stomach with it and cut out a piece of flesh from the stomach. This was taken to the queen. She ate the flesh and fulfilled her longing"[15].

It may be noted that according to this version Kaṃsa, the son of Ugrasena, was none other than an ascetic who had in his previous birth developed a feeling of enmity towards Ugrasena on account of his negligence in extending hospitality to him, and therefore gave up his life with a death-wish to cause the destruction of Ugrasena in his next birth. Thus, according to the Jaina belief, the pregnancy-wish of a woman is intimately connected with the nature of the offspring and the events of his previous birth. We find similar versions of the Ugrasena episode also in other Jaina works such as Harivaṃśa.[16]

ii. Death wish :

The doctrine of Karma which is basic to the Jaina religion has resulted in the closely related idea that the wish that a person has at the time of his death will determine the events and nature of his next birth. This idea occurs frequently in various Jaina texts such as the Uttarādhyāyana Sutra, and the *Vh*[17]. Thus, we find in the latter, one Nandiṣeṇa who expressed a strong desire (nidāna) at the time of his death. that if there was any reward for his penitential acts, he should be reborn handsome so that he

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15. Jain. J. C. *op. cit.* p. 551.
16. Puṣpadanta *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa*, ed. by. L. Alsdorf, Alt-und Neu-Indische Studien herausgegeben vom. Seminar fur Kultur und Geschichte Indiens an der Hansischen Universitat, (Hamburg, 1936), p. 353 ff.
17. The *Uttarādhyayana Sutra*, Jaina Sutras, Part II, Translated from Prākrit by Herman Jacobi (Oxford, 1895), p. 60. foot note 3; see also p. 162. foot note 3. Jain. J. C, *op. cit.* p. 187 ff.

would be loved by women. He was thus reborn as the tenth son of king Andhagavaṇhi, known as Vasudeva, and later won the hands of many beautiful women during his wanderings[20].

The details regarding the death-wish of a monk called Cōtamaṉ to be reborn as a Vidyādhara king,[18] and how he was ordered by Cautarumēntiraṉ to be reborn as Naravāṇaṉ, have already been discussed[19]. These incidents which are described in the *Pk*. bear the unmistakable stamp of the Jaina concept of nidāna.

iii. Dreams and their significance :

Closely related to the above two concepts is the belief in dreams and their significance as foretelling future events. We are thus told in Jaina texts that the mother of a future Tīrthaṅkara will dream of several auspicious things. For example. Ṛṣabha's mother dreamt of the following fourteen auspicious objects :[21] *a white bull, a royal elephant, a lion, a goddess on the lotus, a wreath made of flowers of different celestial trees which shone like the rainbow, the orb of a moon, the sun, a flag-staff, a pitcher of water, a large lotus pond, a milky ocean, a sacred dome (vimāna), a large collection of gems and a smokeless fire.*

We find in the same way, the birth of the future Cakravartin of the Vidyādharas in the *Pk*. being portended by the following dreams. In the first of these dreams,[22] Utayaṇaṉ sees a celestial maiden who holds in her hand *a white lotus flower* with fragrant

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18. *Pk*. 5 : 3 : 165 ff.
19. Supra. pp. 133–35.
20. Jain. J. C. *op. cit*. 187 ff.
21. Hemacandra, Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita, *op. cit*. p.528.
22. *Pk*. 4 : 5 : 66–80.

pollen which attract bees. In it lies a ***white bull*** whose body has the lustre of the ***milky ocean*** where the snake Ādiśeṣa lies and radiates white rays like ***the moon*** and a ***white crystal.*** Its mouth, eyes and hooves have the ***hue of a coral.*** It has a ferocious look and wears a ***garland*** made of white flowers. The celestial maiden presents the white flower to him.

Later we are told that[23] when Utayaṇaṉ and Vācavatattai are sleeping in their palace a ***celestial maiden*** appeared before him in the middle of the night and asked him to come with her to meet her lord, Kubera, the god of wealth. Utayaṇaṉ who desires to bring Vācavatattai also along with him, wakes her up and the celestial maiden carries them both in the skies to the abode of Kubera. There they are accorded seats supported by posts fashioned like lions, in the presence of Kubera. They then notice a toy cart with a child on the golden chain of the cart with a painted Koṭiñci. Then when they looked at it they see a jewel slipping from the tip of a golden petal which is at the centre of a wheel which is rolling. The celestial maiden fetches it with an exclamation, under Kubera's orders. He then gives it to Utayaṇaṉ and sends them back to the earth. In the city of Kōcāmpi Utayaṇaṉ has the jewel examined by jewellers and then presents it to Vācavatattai. She keeps it next to her breast when it suddenly tears open her breasts and enters into her belly. At that point Vācavatattai gets up with a start. After witnessing all these incidents in his dream Utayaṇaṉ also wakes up and narrates his dream to an interpreter who predicts the birth of a son to him who would become the emperor of the Vidyādharas.

After sometime Vācavatattai[24] also has a dream in which she sees a ***white elephant*** which folds its trunk and enters her mouth and goes into her stomach while the celestial beings sing songs of praise and the trumpets are blown. Then she spits out the elephant which flies away and stays on a ***white mountain*** where it swallows ***the sun.***

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23. *Ibid.* 5 : 1 : 76–110.

24. *Ibid.* 5 : 1 : 140–155

Thus we find that both Utayaṉaṉ and Vācavatattai in their dreams see *a lion, a white elephant, the sun, jewels, a heavenly abode, a white bull, a wreath of flowers, a white lotus, a celestial goddess*, and an *ocean of milk.*

In the explanation given by soothsayers to these dreams they clearly explain that the son who is going to be born to Vācavatattai will be a Vidyādhara Cakravarti. While interpreting the first dream Utayaṉaṉ had a soothsayer explain as follows:[25] "The big white lotus is your wife, Vācavatattai, and the bull which lay in the lotus is your son. The white milky ocean, the white bull, the white lotus all together indicate that your son is going to roll his Āñācakra (have the suzerainity) over the world of the Vidyādharas." The dream in which a white elephant enters the mouth of Vācavatattai is similar to the dream of Ruppiṇī[26], for example, in the *Vh*, who sees in her dream a lion entering her mouth and Keśava (Kṛṣṇa) tells her that this dream signifies the birth of a son to her.

We now turn to a discussion of the central theme of the Vidyādharas, and try to show that the important role played by the Vidyādharas is a feature which is peculiar to Jaina mythology. This question has already been discussed in detail by Alsdorf[27] who has pointed out that the Vidyādharas did not have so much importance in the earlier literature. Though they are mentioned often in the epics, they play an ordinary role similar to that of other semidivine or supernatural beings. This is also true of the Purāṇa literature. On the contrary, the role of the Vidyādharas in Jaina literature is large. They often appear as heroes in their stories. Anyone possessing mastery in the magical arts or Vidyās, can become a Vidyādhara, whether it is a human being or an animal. We find the coherent account of the origin of the Vidyādharas only in Jaina texts such as the *Vh*. This account runs as follows[28]:

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25. *Ibid.* 4 : 5 : 95–122.
26. Jain. J. C. *op. cit.* Appendix. I. p. 630.
27. Alsdorf. L. *Zur Geschichte der Jaina Kosmographie and mythologie. op.cit.* pp. 464–493.
28. *Ibid*, p. 473.
    Vasudevahiṇḍi. 163, 25-164-17.

When the first Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabha divided his kingdom before giving up the world, the princes Nami and Vinami were abroad. On their return they requested Ṛṣabha for their share, but he, who in the meantime had turned away from all worldly things and was immersed in deep meditation, did not answer them. Nami and Vinami served him with continuous renewal of their request for a kingdom. One day Dharaṇendra, the lord of the Nāgakumāras, came by and rewarded them with the two śreṇis of the Vaitāḍhya, for having served Ṛṣabha so faithfully. Because one could not get there on foot he lent them 48,000 Vidyās to transport them and their future subjects to the Vaitāḍhya. Nami founded fifty cities on the south, and Vinami sixty cities on the northern śreṇī. The Vidyādharas were grouped into sixteen Nikāyas named after the chief Vidyādharas. Of these eight each were allotted to Nami and Vinami. This is the origin of the Vidyādharas.

The *Kss*. and the *Bkm*. mention the Himālayas as the abode of the Vidyādharas[29]. The Kailāsa mountain is said to divide their territory into a northern and a southern region. The *Bkss*. mentions Vaitarddha,[30] which is taken to be a synonym of Vedyardha. This name is supposedly derived from Vitardi or Vitardikā in Sanskrit which means 'a terrace'[31]. Alsdorf[32] has derived Veyaḍḍha from Vedyardha meaning 'the base of a mountain'. 'The word 'Vedyardha' becomes 'Vedyaḍḍha' in Prakrit. This mountain is also known as Vijayāḍhya or Vijayārdha[33].

29. *Kss*. Translated by Tawney. (Delhi 1968) Vol IV. pp. 1 - 2, Vol. III, p. 47

30. *Bkss*. XIII. 28.

31. Jain. J. C. 'Vidyādharas in the Vasudevahiṇḍi', *Journal of the Oriental Institute Baroda* Vol. XXIV. September December. 1974. No. 1 - 2 p. 120, Foot note. 1.

32. Alsdorf. L. *op.cit*. p. 470 ff.

33. *Jambudvipasamasa*, p. 20; Jinasena, *Harivaṃśapurāna*, 24 : 81; Jain J. C. Vidyādharas in the Vasudevahiṇḍi, p. 120.

In Tamil, the Sanskrit term 'Vidyādhara' (Vidyā + dhara) takes two forms: one Vittiyātaraṉ and the other Viccātaraṉ.

(1) Vidyā + dhara. (Skt) (The one who possess the knowledge of the arts)

Vitttiyā + taraṉ (Tam.)

(2) Vidyā + dhara

Vijjā (Pāli and Pkt) + dhara (Skt).

Viccā + taraṉ (Tam.)

Apart from these two forms there is also another form in Tamil. viz. Viñcaiyaṉ. We see this word being employed in the following examples.

1. māc il viñcaiyar malaiyakam talīi......[34]
(Having gone to the mountain where Viñcaiyars (Vidyādharas) dwell).

2. mētaku ciṟappiṉ viñcaiyaṉ......[35]
(the Vidyādhara who is of great excellency)

3. viñcaiyaṉ taṉṉoṭu ......[36]
(with the Vidyādhara).

4. vilak oḷi viñcaiyaṉ viḻumamōṭ eyti......[37]
(The bright Viñcaiyaṉ came with a mind filled with worry..........)

5. viṟal keḻu viñcaiyar veḷḷiy am peru malai ......[38]
(The big silver mountain where the mighty Vidyādharas stay...)

How is this form to be derived? It may be argued that '*Viccā*' has become '*Viccai*' and then came to be modified as '*Viñcai*'. But we note that the term '*Viñcātaraṉ*' does not occur anywhere in Tamil but only '*Viñcaiyaṉ*'. Thus it is clear that the derivation of this term has nothing to do with the term 'Vidyādhara'.

On the other hand, we do come across the following examples in Tamil literature where '*Viñcai*' refers to a place where a mountain is located.

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34. *Pk.* 5 : 3 : 186.
35. *Ibid,* 1 : 6 : 71.
36. *Maṇimēkalai*, 17 : 23.
37. *Ibid.* 17 : 52.
38. *Pk.* 5 : 9 : 67.

1. *mañcu cūḻ neṭu varai viñcatt aṭavi...*[39]

(the Viñca (vindhya) forest in the mountain surrounded by clouds.)

2. *viñcaiyam peru malai neñcakam piḷantu...*[40]

(Narmadā river) having pierced the chest of *Viñcai* the great mountain...)

The same Viñcai mountain is also referred as *Vintam* (Vindhya) in some context. For eg. Viñcattaṭavi is referred to as also Vintattaṭavi.

aṭavi vintattu yāṉai maruppum...

Pk. 1 : 55 : 32.

(the tusk of the elephant in the Vindhya forest).

It appears probable that the mountain *Vindhya* becomes '*Viṃjha*' in Prākrit and hence *Viṃcā*', '*Viñcā*', and '*Viñcai*' in Tamil. Alternatively the form '*Vindhya*' itself may lead to '*Vintiyam*' in Tamil. The name '*Viñcaiyaṉ*' should therefore be understood to refer to the beings who belong to 'Viñcai' i.e. the *Vindhya* mountain.

The Vindhya mountain has also been famous for its silver and its description occurring in Tamil literature often refers to this particular fact.

1. *Viñcaiyam peru malai viḷaṅk oḷi veḷḷiyum......*[41]

(The silver which shone in the mountain Viñcai).

...............Vicātarar uṟai
veḷḷiyam peru malai......... [42]

(The silver mountain where the Vidyādharas dwell).

---

39. *Pk.* 5 : 3 : 52
note. *Vindhyāṭavi* has become *Viñcattaṭavi*
40. *Ibid.* 1 : 51 : 8
see also *Cilappatikāram.*
uñcaiyam patiyum Viñcatt aṭaviyum ....
(The city Ujjayinī and the forest in Vindhya......)
41. *Ibid.* 1 : 58 : 36.
42. *Ibid.* 3 : 3 : 118 - 119

Thus it appears probable that the Vidyādharas occupied the Vindhya, rather than the Himālaya mountain. This supposition may accord well with the idea that the Veyaḍḍha mountain divided Bhāratavarṣa into two halves.

The foregoing analysis is makes it clear that the ***Pk.*** embodies the essential characteristics of the mythology and cosmography of the Jains and in particular, of the Vidyādharas. Besides, a careful analysis of the Tamil work may lead to additional insights into some of the less understood aspects of this fascinating subject.

The Metaphysical Ideas.

"The theory of karma is the corner stone of Jainism"[43]. It is belived that fine karmic matters are dispersed throughout the cosmos, and get ass milated (āśrava) by the souls through their various good and bad activities. Once they get attached to the soul, they are transformed into eight kinds of Karmas. Among these eight, four are destructive karmas (*ghatiya karmas*) and the others are non destructive (*aghatiya karmas*). The four destructive karmas are :

1. *Jñanāvaraṇiya Karma*, which obscures the knowledge of the soul.
2. *Darśanāvaraṇiya Karma*, which obscures the connotation of the soul.
3. *Mohaniya Karma* which obscures the perception of the soul.
4. *Antarāya Karma* which prevents the progress of the soul.

The four non destructive Karmas are :

1. *Āyus Karma* which determines the age.
2. *Gotra Karma* which determines the family.
3. *Nāma Karma* which determines the factors of individuality such as the height, the weight, the complexion etc.
4. *Vedaniya Karma* which determines the pleasures and pains experienced by the soul in life.. All these eight Karmas together are called *aṣṭa Karmas*, and once the soul is free from all

43. Vividus, *Jainism* (A Hearthstone Book. Carlton Press. Inc. New York ; 1979). p. 48.

these eight karmas it enjoys its natural qualities of infinite perception (*ananta darśana*), infinite knowledge (*ananta jñāna*), infinite power (*ananta virya*) and infinite bliss (*ananta sukha*).

In the *Pk*, the author compares the nature of the welcome given to Utayaṇaṉ by the citizens of Cayanti (Jayantī) when he entered the country on his return from the city of Piraccōtaṉaṉ, to that extended to a person who has been liberated from all his karmas, by Indra.

....
ventuyar aṟuviṉai viḷttiya aṉṉalai
intira ulakam etir koṇṭāṅku......
................[44]

(as a good man who has annihilated all his karmas which cause sorrow, is welcomed in the world of Indra).

In another instance the ghātīya karmas are mentioned. The author of the *Pk*. compares the way Utayaṇaṉ went to kill his enemy king Āruṇi to a person who obtained the true knowledge as a result of the annihilation of ghātīya karmas. It is beleived that once the ghātīya karmas are annihilated the soul can easily attain salvation as the aghātiya karmas do not stand in the way of salvation.

....
kāti vev viṉai kaṭaiyaṟu kalai
pōti peṟṟa puṇṇiyaṉ pōla...
...........[45]

44. *Pk*. 2 : 1 : 15.

45. *Pk*, 3 : 27 : 149 – 150, see also *Civakacintāmaṇi*, v. 2713, 1240. P. V. comacutaranar in his '*Viḷakkam*' (explanation) to the above lines and especially to '*Kātivev viṉai*' says that they are the eight karmas called *Jñāṉā–varaṇiya*, *darśanāvaraṇiya*, *vedanīyam*, *mohanīyam*, *āyuṣyam*, *nāmam*, *gōtra*, and *antarāya*. It is wrong to include here all the four aghātiya karmas also under the term 'kāti'. 'Kāti' is the Tamil term for Sanskrit *ghati* and *kati vevviṉai* should be taken as the pain giving ghātīya karmas.

Pk. edited by P. V. Somasundaranar, 2nd edition. (South India Saiva Siddhanta works Publishing society, Madras 1973) Commentary to 3 : 27 : 149 : 150. p. 398.

(Like the good soul who obtained the true perception at the end of the annihilation of ghātīya karmas (kātivevviṇai).

After destroying all the ghātiya karmas, the soul attains four infinite qualities[46] and surpasses the three lokas[47] and the aloka and attains godliness.

The annihilation of ghātīya karmas is the most important step on the way to salvation. The shedding of karma's (*nirjara)* and the prevention of the inflow of the karmic matter (*saṃvara*) cannot be done at once. The various stages through which the soul has to advance towards liberation are called *guṇasthānas*.

There are fourteen guṇasthānas and they are as follows :

1. *Mithyā-dṛṣṭi* (misbeliever)
2. *Sāsvādana-samyagdṛṣṭi* (downfall)
3. *Samyag-mithyādṛṣṭi* (mixture of right and wrong belief)
4. *Avirata-samyagdṛṣṭi* (vowless right belief)
5. *Deśavirata - samyagdṛṣṭi* (partial vow)
6. *Pramatta - samyata* (imperfect vows)
7. *Apramatta - samyata* (perfect vows)
8. *Apūrva - karaṇa* (new thought activity)
9. *Anivṛtti - bādara - samparāya* (advanced thought activity – a stage in which gross passions still remain)
10. *Sūkṣma - samparāya* (slightest delusion)
11. *Upaśānta kaṣāya - vītarāga - chadmastha* (delusionless)
13. *Sayogi - kevalin* (ominiscience with vibration)
14. *Ayogi - Kevalin* (omniscience with out activity).

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46. Four infinite qualities :— *ananta-jñāna, ananta darśana, ananta-vīrya* and *ananta sukha.*

47. *Nāga loka, Bhūloka, Svarga loka*
Chakravarti. A, 'Jīvakacintāmaṇi' "*The Jaina Antiquary*". Vol. XXI, No. 11, p. 28.

In the first five stages the soul will be in the householder's stage and after that it takes up the ascetic life. Right belief *(samyag darśana)*, Right knowledge *(samyag jñāna)* and Right conduct *(samyag caritra)* are the *Ratna trayas* or *Guṇatrayas*,[48] (the three gems qualities) which help the soul on its way to salvation.

Right faith is the cause of right knowledge and right conduct.[49] Right knowledge which helps the soul to see things exactly as they are, prevents the inflow of kārmic matters and helps to shed the karmas already acquired. This right knowledge is of five kinds :

matijñāna : which is acquired by the five senses.

śrutajñāna : which comes by reading scriptures.

avadhijñāna : is the transcendental knowldge of material things.

manahparyāya jñāna : is the transcendental knowledge of the feelings and thoughts of others.

kevalajñāna : is the perfect knowledge which comes after getting rid of all the karmas.

avadhijñāna in Tamil is called as '*ōti*'.

In the story of Pattirāpati (Bhadrāvatī) the thought which passes in the mind of Bhadrāvatī is known by Indra through his '*ōti*' (Avadhijñāna).

....

oṉṟiya uṟu nōy ōtiyiṉ nōkki............[50]

(Having seen her pain through his avadhijñāna).

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48. 'Samyagdarśanajñānacāritrāṇi mokṣamārgaḥ' Umaswami, *Tattvartha Sūtram*, ed. Shantiraya Sastri (University of Mysore, 1944). p. 1.

49. Samantabhadra, Ratnakaraṇḍa Śrāvakācāra, The Library of Jaina Literature, Vol. IX. (Arrah. 1917), v. 13

50. *Pk.* 5 : 3 : 92.

Again when the yakṣa Naňcukaṉ speaks to Urumaṇṇuvā. he tells him that he can call him anytime, because he would respond immediately to his call, through his *Avadhijñāna*.

....

eḷḷal illatu uḷḷiya kālai

ōtiyiṉ nōkkiy uṇarntu yān varuvēṉ

....[51]

(when you think of me without derison I will come at once by perceiving with the help of my avatijñāna).

There are two types of right faith;

1. *the vyavahāra-samyag-darśana.*– the right faith from practical point of view- i.e. to have faith in the Jaina fundamental principles.

2. the *niścaya-samyag-darśana* the right faith from the real point of view ie. the self realisation.

Faith in a true ideal is important to have right faith and Utayaṇaṉ is portrayed as one who has faith in Lord Jina. After his marriage with Vācavatattai there is a detailed description of the temple of Jina, and how Utayaṇaṉ went to offer worship there in the temple.

....

tāma muk kuṭai tāmuṟai kavippa

ulaka veḷḷat taḻum palluyirkk–

alakaiy akiyav aruntavak kiḻavaṉai

... .

....

paravuk kaṭaṉ kaḻittaṉaṉ paintārōṉeṉ[52].

(He who wore a fresh garland (Utayaṇaṉ) worshipped the one (Jina) who has three umbrellas on top of each other decorated with garlands, and who is the end for all the souls who are submerged in this flood of existence).

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51. *Pk.* 5 : 3 : 53–54.
52. *Pk.* 2 : 6 : 154 ff.

The three umbrellas referred to here are the *candraditya*, *nityavinoda*, and *sakalabhaṣaṇa* which indicates the suzerainity of the three worlds, the *nāga loka* (the nether world) *the bhūloka* (the earth) and the *svarga loka* (the celestial world).

The result of having right faith is the attainment of the superstate. Pattirāpati (Bhadrāvatī) though cursed by Kubera to be born as a female elephant hears the Pañcanamaskāra mantra at the time of her death and gets back her own form as a dancing girl in Kubera's court because of having right faith.

"*kāla kūṭam eṉṉum ven nōy*
cālavum peruka mēṉ mē neruṅki
vilakkuvarai nillātu vem paci naliya
viḻnta kālai mēyavaṉ at talai
āyntav uḷḷamoṭu cerntaṉaṉ āki
añcat aimpatam niṉai mati niyeṉa
eñcat avaṉiy iyalpiṉiṟ tiṟiyātu
cintaiy oṭu muṭintatu kāraṇamāka
ūṉamai vilaṅkiṉ uṭamp avaṉ oḻiya
īṉamil yākkaiy ōṭ iv vaḻi vantu niṉ
muṉṉaip pēroṭu peṇṇuruv eyti.........
....[53]

(when you fall down afflicted by hunger and the spread of disease called Kālakūṭam, the person riding on your back (Utayaṇaṉ) will come to your help and ask you to remember the *pañcanamas-karas* without any fear in mind. Because at the time of your death you will remember the *pañcanamaskāra* without fail you will come back here with a celestial body after discarding the body of an animal and reattain your earlier form of a celestial woman).

The term '*aimpatam*', which occurs in the passage above is the 'Pañcanamaskāra' which is a prayer offered to the five souls, the siddha, the arhat, the ācarya, the upādhyāya and the Sādhu who are together called *Pañcaparameṣṭin*. This mantra is also called '*Pañcaparameṣṭistuti*'.

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53. *Pk.* 5 : 3 : 129 - 139.

When one has right faith and right knowledge then one will possess also right conduct. This forms the basis of most of the ethical ideas of Jains.

Ethical ideas :

Right conduct and the ethical rules which lead to it pave the way for the salvation of a soul. These rules are enumerated for the life of a householder as well as that of an ascetic. In the earlier days the householder's *(Śrāvaka)* stage was of minimal importance and it was considered as a state of preparation for the ascetic life.[54] In the medieval period it gained more importance and a corpus of lay doctrine was included in the canons. In the *Pk.* we find that only the rules pertaining to the householders are followed by Utayaṇaṉ as the later portions relating to his renunciation are not available.

Among the fourteen guṇasthānas the first five guṇasthānas belong to the householder's life and serve as a prepratory stage for the ascetic life. To annihilate the various karmas it is said that the soul observes some vows *(vratas)*, and these vratas are classified as *aṇuvratas* (partial vows) and *mahāvratas* (absolute vows). Aṇuvratas are meant for the householders and mahāvratas are for ascetics. There are also eleven spiritual stages (Pratimās) for a householder.

1. *Darśana* – getting faith in Jaina doctrines and their observance in practical life.
2. *Vrata* - starts to observe all the *aṇu, guṇa* and *sikṣāvratas.*
3. *Sāmayika* - performs sāmayika three times a day.
4. *Proṣadhānaśana* – observes regular fasts and applies himself to holy meditation
5. *Sa-citta-virata* – gives up eating all unripe things for the purpose of non killing
6. *Rātri-bhuktivirata* - gives up taking food in the night.

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54. Williams. R. *Jaina yoga*, (London, 1963) Introdcution p. XVI.

7. *Brahmacarya* - gives up all sexual indulgences.
8. *Ārambhavinivṛtta* - gives up all wordly engagements and occupations
9. *Paricitta-parigraha-virata*,
10. *Anumati - virata* Preparatory to the ascetic life-
11. *Uddiṣṭa-tyāga*

One of the above pratimās is the Rātribhukti virata, the stage in which the householder gives up eating at night, as taking food in the nights involve the destruction of minute living beings[55]. We thus come across the description of Yūki (Yaugandharāyaṇa) as undertaking such a vow.

....
kuḻṉṟa kuñci niḻanṟ erut talait tarak
kaḻuvātu piṇaṅkiya vaḻuvāc caṭaiyiṉaṉ
maṟap pōr āṉaiyiṉ mataṉ tava nerukki
aṟap pēr āṇmaiyiṉ aṭakkiya yākkaiyaṉ
kal uṉ kaliṅkam kaṭṭiya varaiyiṉaṉ
aḷ ūṉ nittaliṉ ahiyav uṭampiṉaṉ.........
.... [56]

(the long curly hair rolls on his back and his top hair matted together because of not having been washed, having controlled the pride of the elephant of karmas and possessing a personality with the right conduct, wearing a brown cloth dipped in the water of lime stone, having an emaciated body due to the fact that he has given up eating in the nights......)

---

55. *annam pānam khādyam lehyam naśnāti yo vibhāvaryām |*
sa ca rātribhukti virataḥ satveṣvanukampamānamanāḥ
(He who, being mercifully inclined towards all living beings, does not take (any of the four kinds of food, namely) grains (or things made of grain), liquids, sweet meats and semi - liquids, after sunset – such a one is called a *rātribukti vrata śrāvaka*). Samantabhadra Ācharya *Ratnakaraṇḍaśrāvakācāra*, with the translation of Champat Rai Jain, (The Library of Jaina Literature. Vol. IX, Arrah, 1917). Part VII. v. 142.

56. *Pk.* 4 : 7 : 154 ff.

Yūki is now in the sixth pratimā in a householder's life viz. the Rātribhuktivrata. This is understood from the phrase *'aḷlūṇ nittaliṉ āhiyav uṭampiṉaṉ'*. (emaciated body due to non-eating in nights).

Apart from the five aṇuvratas the householder has to observe also three guṇavratas i. e. *digvrata*, *anarthadaṇḍa-vrata*, *bhogopabhoga*, *parimāṇa - vrata* which are concerned with the limitation of daily work, food and enjoyment, and four *sikṣā vratas*. i.e. *deśāvakāśika*, *sāmayika*, *proṣadhopavāsa* and *vaiyavṛtya* which emphasise the inner purity of the heart. Among the sikṣāvratas *sallekhana vrata* is one. Sallekhana is often confused with suicide and to avoid this confusion Jaina canonical texts say that it is a voluntary death without any rāga (affection) and it is done when the body becomes incapable of performing any vratas[57]. As part of this vrata there exists *'nidāna'* which is characterised by an expectation of prosperity in a future birth[58].

In the *Pk.* we come across the *nidāna* (death wish) of the sage Cōtavaṉ. In this episode (which has been already analysed in detail),[59] on Pattirāpati's request to Naravāhana (Kubera) to bless Utayaṇaṉ with a son, Kubera asks the Saudharmendra to do it. He in turn orders Cōtavaṉ, an ascetic who gives up his life with a nidāna for acquiring the overlordship of Viñcai (the silver mountain) to be reborn as the son of Utayaṇaṉ.

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57. (*na sallekhana pratipannasya rāgādayaḥ santi tato nātmavadhodoṣaḥ*

—Pūjyapāda on Tattvārthasūtra 7 : 22).

Bhargva Dayanand, *Jaina ethics*, (Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1968) p. 140. foot note 1.

58. Nidāna is one of the five sallekhana vratas, (1) Desire to live (Jīvitaśaṃsā), (2) Desire to die (Maraṇāśaṃsā) (3) Remembrance of friends (Mitrānurāga) (4) Revival of past pleasure (Sukhānubandha), (5) Expectation of future prosperity (Nidāna) Tattvārthasūtra, 7 : 32. *Ibid.* 141.

59. Supra, pp. 162, 163.

....
Viccai eyti veḷḷi am perumalai
accam il āḻi koṇṭ aracu viṟṟ iruttaṟkku
nacci nōṟṟav ōr kaccam il kaṭun tavac
cōtavan̲ en̲n̲um iruṭiy ulakattut
tēva yākkaiy oṭu pōkam eytiya
nitān̲a vakaiyin̲i n̲in̲aint in̲it iruntan̲an̲
........................[60]

(An ascetic by name Cōtavan̲ who has observed rigorous penance has a death wish of being reborn with a celestial body as the sovereign, wielding the wheel of command (ājñācakra) fearlessly over the silver mountain, after obtaining the knowledge of the several arts (Vidyā's). i.e. of being reborn as the Emperor of the Vidyādharas).

In the ascetic's stage a monk observes twenty eight penances in order to annihilate all the karmas acquired by him and to check the inflow of the new karmas. These penances, the internal and the external ones, are very important. Among the penances the *dhyāna* (concentration of mind) is helpful to lead the soul towards liberation. It is classified as *Ārta dhyāna* (painful concentration) *Rudra dhyāna* (concentration on terrible things in order to achieve unrighteous gains), *Dharma dhyāna* (righteous concentration) and *Sukla dhyāna* (pure concentration). The first two do not in any way help for liberation while the other two lead the soul towards salvation. *Dharma Dhyāna* leads the soul to heavenly pleasures while by *śukla dhyāna* the soul leaves its body and straightaway attains liberation.

After destroying all the *ghātiya* and *aghātiya karmas*, the soul attains four infinite qualities and surpasses the three lokas and the aloka and attains godhood. At this stage, the soul is called Siddha. This stage has been referred to in the *Pk.* in the following lines:

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60. *Pk.* 5 : 3 : 177 - 182.

"..........................
tukal tir irun tavat tunivin murri
mukat uyar ulaka munniya munivarum
.......................— 1 : 38 : 218 - 19.

Patumakārikai, the mother of Vācavatattai, when she sees her daughter's beauty, thinks that her beauty can even attract the ṛṣis who have attained their positions in the region beyond the *aloka*. Here she means the Siddhas. In another instance the boat which is floating (without sinking in the water) in the sea is compared with the soul which reached beyond aloka after annihilating all its karmas.

..........................—...
vinai tir uyirin mitantatu kilap
....[61]

When Utayaṇaṉ discovers the water springs below the earth, Daršaka becomes very happy and his happiness is compared with that of a soul which reached the highest world.

"*tirup pēr ulakam peṟṟāṉ pōla*"...[63]

When Iṭapakaṉ (Rṣabhaka) hears that Utayaṇaṉ is alive even after his capture by Piraccōtaṉaṉ, he is very happy. His state is compared with that of the soul which has attained the immovable world. i.e. beyond aloka.

"*peyarcciy il ulakam peṟṟāṉ pōla*"[62].

Theological ideas

When a soul attains *Siddha-hood* there is no other god higher than him. These gods can in no way assist any soul to shed its own karmas. But still Jains do offer prayers to Lord Arhat. This is done in order to awaken the latent potentialities of god-hood in them. The souls which are free from karmas can be of two kinds : one is *Siddhas* (disembodied souls) the other is the

61. *Pk*. 1 : 40 : 186
62. *Pk*. 3 : 12 : 77
63: *Pk*. 1 : 56 : 172

Arhats or *Jinas* (the embodied souls). Between the two siddhas, if the siddhas had taught the Jaina doctrine in their embodied state they are called *Tīrthaṅkara siddhas* whereas if they are just siddhas they are *Sāmānya siddhas* The Arhats and Jinas have bodies and they are worshipped by Jains. Apart from Siddhas and Arhats, there are also other souls who are free from karmas and are worshipped and respected. They are the *Ācaryas*, the *Upadhyayas* and *Sādhus*. The respect which is paid to all of them together is called *Pañcanamaskara*. This is translated into Tamil as '*aimpatam*'. When the Namaskāra is made to the Arhats, the Siddhas, the Ācāryas, and the law of Jaina dharma, then it is *Catuḥśaraṇa*.

In the *Pk*. we find the description of the temple of Arhat and the prayers. In Tamil the temples are called as *arukattaṉam*. (Skt. arhat + sthāna. *Pkt*. thāṇa ṭāna) *arantāṇam*, *aṟivar tāṉam* and *cētiyam*. The following are some examples:

1. In the description of Utayaṇaṉ's country we are told about the presence of a monastery and the temple of Arhat,

"......... ...
arun tavarp paḷḷiyum arukat taṉamum
....................[64]

2. We find a long description of a temple of Jina in the description of the city of Cayanti just before the marriage of Utayaṇ-ṉ with Vācavatattai. The description runs as follows:

"The auspicious flags *(maṅkalap peruṅkoṭi)* which are made of pieces of multi coloured cloth placed on top of each other and stiched at their edges with pearl chains, jewels and mirror works, were hoisted on posts made of thick bottomed flag staffs with golden chains to hoist and dehoist the flags and decorated with various jewels, which stood at the temple of Arhat. There was a water contrivance made of the inner leaf of palmyrah which sprinkled water on the feet of Jina. There the three umbrellas

64. *Pk*. 4 : 2 : 12.

were functioning with the help of a yantra (machine). There arose the noise of the enlightened people who preached the Jaina faith and the people who came there to worship Jina"[65]

3. There is a whole Kātai named '*teyvaccirappu*' in which after his marriage with Vācavatattai, Utayaṇaṉ visits the Jina temple and pays his respects to Arhat. The description of the temple, its architecture, the objects carved and painted on it have great relevance to the Jaina theological and mythological ideas. Most of them are either one of the *eight auspicious* things[66] or the *Lañchanas* (signs) of the twenty four Tīrthaṅkaras. *Pots* (water-jars), *malai* (garland), *twined creeper*, *tiger*, *fish*, *pigeon* (kapota), *lotus*, *kalaśa*, *blue lily* (kumuda), *lion* are some of the objects which are painted in the temple. Apart from this the eight auspicious things are also painted there. We find this expressed in the following line:

"*eṭṭu vakaip peruñ ciṟapp ēṟpa eḻuti*........[68]

The descriptions of the paintings of the gods, the female deities, Gandharvas, Vidyādharas, Indras with their wives are in accordance with the Jain tradition.

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65. *Pk*, 2 : 2 : 110–138,

66. Eight auspicious things are 1. *mirror*, 2. *śrivatsa* 3. *nandyāvarta*, 4. *water jar*, 5. *a fish couple* 6. *throne* 7. *powder flask*, 8. *svastika*.

67. The Lānchanas of the twenty four Tīrthaṅkaras are : 1. *bull* 2. *elephant* 3. *horse*, 4. *monkey*, 5. *curlew* 6. *red lotus*, 7. *svastika*, 8. *moon*, 9. *fish* (*makara*) 10. *śrivatsa*, 11. *rhinoceros*, 12. *buffalo*, 13. *boar* 14. *falcon*, 15. *vajra*, 16. *deer*, 17. *goat*, 18. *nandyāvarta*, 19. *water jar*, 20. *tortoise*, 21. *blue-lotus*, 22. *conch*, 23. *serpent*, 24. *lion*.

Triṣaṣṭiśalakapuruṣacarita, Vol. I. Ādīśvaracarita, ed. B. Bhattacharya, Gaekward's Oriental Series, No; LI (Baroda. 1931). p. 528.

68. *Pk*. 2 : 6 : 69.

The Arhat is seated on a seat and above him are the three umbrellas. Utayaṇaṉ with his wife goes and offers worship to Arhat and prays.

When Utayaṇaṉ takes his wife Vācavatattai in an aerial car to fulfill her dohada he shows her the Jaina temple.[69] They also pay tribute to another Jain temple.

> ....
> *tukaṭīr perumaic cēṭiyant toḻutu*
> ....[70]

(Having worshipped at the famous temple of the Jina),

There are also instances to show that there were many monasteries for monks who were practising penance.

> "*aruntavarp paḷḷi* ...."[71]

(The monastery where people perform penance)

> "*paṭivap paḷḷi*............"[72]

(the monastery of ascetics)

> "*mūturai muṉivaṉ paḷḷi*........"[73]

(The monastery where the one who has a good knowledge of the past (ie. scriptures) dwells).

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69. *Pk*, 5 : 4 : 151.
70. *Pk*, 5 : 4 : 112.
71. *Pk*. 1 : 43 : 175.
72. *Pk*. 1 : 51 : 64,
73. *Pk*. 2 : 13 : 8.

Ritualistic ideas.

The earlier canonical writings of the Jains do not give much importance to any kriyās. i.e. rituals. As explained earlier, the ascetic life is stressed upon and the entire life of a person was thought to be geared only towards salvation and as a preparation for the same in the most rigorous ways. But in course of time these ideas were relaxed and the householder's life came to be of some importance in its own right - though it was still considered to be only a preparatory stage for the life of renunciation. During this period, rituals began to be observed by Jainas. For the first time such rituals were brought together in writing in the Ādipurāṇa of Jinasena. Most of these rituals correspond to the Hindu Sāṃskāras.

In the *Pk.* though all the rituals are not explicitly enumerated, some of them at least are described in the course of the narrative.

The birth of Naravāṇatattaṉ provides an opportunity for the author to describe the rituals of the Jātakarma and the Nāmakaraṇa karmas. The moment the birth of Naravāṇatattaṉ is announced, the astrologers get together and calculate the Jātaka (horoscope) and then perform the sixteen kinds of karmas. Afterwards the new born child is named.

A brief digression at this point on the name given to the son of Utayaṇaṉ is necessary because of its significance, in our opinion, to the essentially Jaina character of the Bṛhatkathā. The name Naravāṇatattaṉ (Naravāhanadatta) signifies 'the child who was given by Kubera who had a man as his bearer'. Even though there are instances of persons who were named in this manner in epic and secular literatures also, the custom of naming a person after the deity by whose grace he or she was supposed to be born appears to be predominantly prevalent among the people belonging to the merchant community. They were mostly Jains (and sometimes Buddhists). Accordingly we find in Buddhist and Jaina literature the frequent occurrence of names carrying the suffixes '*datta*', '*dattā*', 'diṇṇa' or 'diṇṇā,

e.g. Cārudatta, Ṛṣabhadatta, Kuberadatta, Sāgaradatta, Vīṇādatta, Gaṅgādatta, Vāsavadattā, Ṛṣidattā, Gandharvadattā, Samudradiṇṇā, etc.

In the description of the marriage of Utayaṇaṉ with Vācavatattai, Koṅkuvēḷir describes the rituals connected with the wedding ceremony after the Jain customs.

To sum up, the stamp of Jainism which we see clearly in the *Pk.* is due to the basic fact that the story of the original *Bk.* itself probably has a Jaina origin. In particular, the Vidyādharas constitute an integral part of Jaina mythology. The Jaina character of the work is however not the result of a deliberate intention of its author; but it appears that he has simply adhered faithfully to an original Jaina source.

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p. 7 *l.* 1 Vīracōḻiyam for Viracoḻiyam

p. 8 fn. 38 Raghavan. V. for Raghavan. A.

p. 10 *l.* 21 Saptaśati for Saptaśat

p. 12 *l.* 24 Prākrit for Prākrti.

p. 16 fn. 59 *Supra*. p. 13 for Infra. p. 13

p. 23 *l.* 3, 4 *Tapasavatsarajacarita* for *Tapasavatsarajacraita*

p. 26 *l.* 28 *salilam* for *salilam paravaśah* and *saḷiḷam* for saḷiḷam paravaso.

p. 31 fn. 89 *supra* pp. 14, 15 for *Infra* pp. 14, 15

p. 32 fn. 91 R. Nagaswamy, A Bilinqual coin of a Satavahana, for R. Nagaswamy,...

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p. 60 *l.* 25. Paramacuntari for Piramacuntari

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p. 64 *l.* 32 therefore for therefroe

p. 65 *l.* 3 Mahāsena for Mahasena

l. 5. Ujjayinī for Ujjaynī

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p. 78 fn. 54 *supra* p. 56 for *Infra*. p. 56

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l. 25 *jyeṣṭhaśca* for *jyeṣṭaśca*
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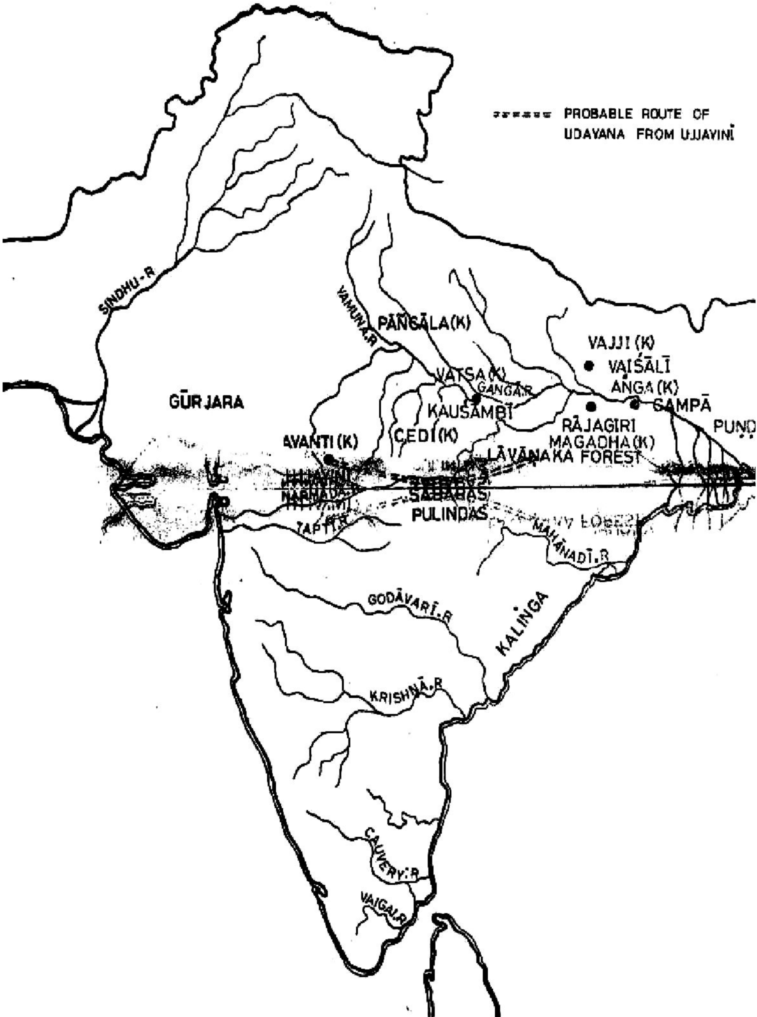

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